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YSEARTA ___ and CAPT^N YACOUB BEY

Published by R. Bentley, London, 1854.

DISCOVERIES

IN

ASIA MINOR;

INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF THE

RUINS OF SEVERAL ANCIENT CITIES,

AND ESPECIALLY

ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA.

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BY THE REV. F. V. J. ARUNDELL,

BRITISH CHAPLAIN AT SMYRNA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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DISCOVERIES IN ASIA MINOR.

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Barracks of the ninth regiment of Turkish Cavalry at Isbarta —Captain Yacoub Bey, the Turkish Napoleon—His marvellous stories, and account of the march from Isbarta to Homs or Chams—His plan and description of the battle—Visit to a Greek from Alexandria—The blind shopkeeper —Affecting melody of our barrack friends—Their subsequent fate—Account of the battle of Homs, and advance of Ibrahim Pasha to Kutaieh.

THE khan where I had formerly lodged was so full of Turkish cavalry, that not a hole was to be had for ourselves or our horses. Kyriacos proposed going to the Greek school, a roomy establishment, the master of which was well known to him. The school was as full as the khan with soldiers. We were more fortunate in being recognized by Mr. Balli, a Greek mer-

chant, who resides principally at Smyrna, and who is the sultan's agent for opium. He regretted that having several saraffs from Constantinople, he could not accommodate us under his own roof, but he undertook to find us an apartment.

We were soon put in possession of a room in a sort of barracks, a square having galleries and chambers all round it. It was completely filled with Turkish cavalry, men and horses, part of the sultan's army which had retreated hither after the battle and defeat of Ibrahim Pasha at Chams. Our apartment was but a poor substitute for Mr. Balli's comfortable mansion; having windows on all sides without glass, and in part without shutters; a floor which threatened to be treacherous to a heavy foot; and through the wide crevices of which an odour, not equal to sandal wood or aloes, was incessantly arising from the Tactico horses below.

Our apartment was separated from a sort of mess-room of our soldier friends, by a partition so loosely framed, as kindly to give each party an opportunity of hearing and seeing what we were respectively doing. We had a door, but without a fastening.

Our baggage had scarcely been placed in the room, before we were visited by our respectable bulky friend and some other Greeks, and with them came a young Turkish officer, called Yacoub Bey, third captain in the ninth regiment of cavalry. He was a young fellow of most extraordinary intelligence; he seated himself close to us, asked a thousand questions, and told us as many stories; spoke French, Greek, a little Italian, and even a few words of English, and lamented bitterly he could not leave his regiment to improve his mind by residing in Paris or England.

Having seen Napoleon on board the Bellerophon, I was much struck by the strong resemblance, making allowance for difference of age; and on telling him of it, he smiled, as evidently much gratified, and said every one had told him the same thing at Constantinople. He entertained us with many a story, most of them, as the following, of the marvellous kind.

When he was with the army at Antioch in Syria, he went, accompanied by some friends of the regiment, to see a *grotto*, of which they had heard strange things. It was not far from Antioch, and lay in a beautiful grove. Within the

grotto was a lake, the waters of which were green as the emerald, and at the farther end of the grotto, beyond the lake, were piled up, and visible from the entrance, immense heaps of diamonds, gold, and silver.

On the lake floated a boat of iron, which immediately on the arrival of any one, kindly places itself close to the entrance, as if inviting them to come on board and take possession of the treasures. Captain Yacoub and his friends had their eyes dazzled by the glittering heaps, and their hearts tantalized by the boat moving, as usual, close to their side. But they were prudent young men, and had heard of the fate which would befall them if they ventured on board.

The treasures are guarded by an invisible necromancer, and the instant any one is sufficiently covetous and fool-hardy to enter the boat, he is conveyed close to the riches, but then the boat turns, and he has no means of escape.

Captain Yacoub Bey asserted so positively that he had himself seen the lake, the grotto, the boat, and even the treasures, that I am inclined to believe that he really saw what he imagined to be so, probably some crystallization, or stalactites

glittering in the sunbeams. The description of the grotto and the grove agrees with the ancient account of the fountain of Daphne, near Antioch.*

He also assured us that he had seen at Konia, in a large subterranean passage through which ran a strong stream of water, a stone, or rather rock, of enormous size, which by the continued action of the water upon it, might be easily moved with the shoulder.

I related to him the account of the Cornish Logan stone, its removal and more marvellous replacement by Lieutenant Goldsmith.† The

* Strabo, after describing Antioch, says, "Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τετταράκοντα σταδιους ἡ Δάφνη, κατοίκια μεγρια· μέγα δὲ και συνηρεφὲς ἄλσος, διαρρεόμενον πηγάιοις ὕδασιν· ἐν μέσω δὲ ἄσυλον τέμενος, και νεῶς Ἀπολλωνος, καὶ Ἀρτεμιδος."—Lib. xvi. cap. 2.

Pocock places it at *Beit al Mei*, at five miles from Antioch, the road through groves of myrtle and mulberry trees. The largest of the fountains rises from under a vertical rock, forming a small abyss, or concavity, on the top and sides of which are the massy remains of an ancient edifice, perhaps those of the temple of Apollo.

† Partaking very strongly of the veneration felt in my native county for the *Logan Stone*, I have been much rejoiced to hear of its restoration to its original position. This is so ex-

young captain looked at me stedfastly, and, half offended, asked why I disbelieved his stories, for

traordinary an achievement, that *I* may be permitted to give a short account of it from the newspapers of the period.

On the 8th of April (or 18th) 1824, part of the crew of a cutter, stationed on the Cornish coast to look after smugglers, amused themselves at Castle Treryn, near St. Levan's, Land's End, in destroying the greatest national curiosity in these parts of the kingdom. After several efforts they at last attained the summit of their desires, and succeeded in forcing from the position, in which it was so nicely balanced as to be moved to and fro by the exertion of a single arm, a mass of granite, weighing little short of ninety tons.

In October following the same paper says, It is with a great degree of pleasure that we are enabled to inform the curious, and the lovers of antiquity, that an attempt is at last being made to restore this celebrated stone to its former pinnacle of wonder and surprise. Lieutenant Goldsmith, with a zeal truly characteristic of the British tar, in redeeming past errors, and ever anxious to please, commenced his operations on Thursday last, with about thirty able seamen, by landing the requisite apparatus from boats beneath the cliff. The weight of the rock has been recently found to be *seventy* tons, to lift which a *triangle* is erecting over it, of proportionate strength, with tackle, blocks, &c. of the *first magnitude*.

In the first week of November, we are told that Lieutenant H. Goldsmith, of the Nimble cutter, has *succeeded* in placing the Logan Stone in its former position. The first attempt was made on Friday week, in the presence of three thousand spectators; on Saturday further efforts were made, and on Tuesday afternoon the laborious task was completed;

he was persuaded that I had invented the story of the Logan Stone, as a polite way of telling him I did not believe him.

However imaginative he might be, he was certainly an uncommon character, and could he have been noticed by the sultan, and permitted, as several others have been, to spend some years in Europe, he would have returned qualified to fill the situation even of Seraskier.

His account of the campaign in Syria, and the unfortunate battle of Chams, was particularly interesting; and the following itinerary of the march from Isbarta to Chams, which I wrote down while he enumerated the several conacs with a precision and rapidity equalling the blind bard of Ishekli, is a curious and useful document.

and so successfully, that the immense stone logs to and fro, exactly as before.

A public dinner was given to Lieutenant Goldsmith and his crew, at Penzance, and a subscription made to assist in defraying the expense of replacing the stone, which was very great. There was a view of the Logan Rock, and the machinery used for replacing it, published at Penzance, November 16, 1824.

	HOURS.	
1. Isbarta to Eyerdir .	6	
2. Galandos . .	9	
3. Kara-gatz . .	6	
4. Carali . .	6	Adjoining the lake Beysher—the ancient *Caralitis.*
5. Bey-sher . .	6	
6. Cara Hissar . .	4	*Query*, the site of *Lystra?* as some ancient remains there.
7. Einvanoun . .	9	
8. Eyerlasse . .	6	
9. Konia . . .	9	The distance to Konia from Kara-gatz by this route is 40 hours; whereas by the direct route of Sergè and Kusulouran it is only 22; therefore Yacoub must have coasted the lake, or at least gone down considerably to the south, and up again to Konia.
10. Shumra . .	6	Tshumra of Colonel Leake.
11. Cassaba . . .	9	Colonel Leake makes it the same distance.
12. Karaman . .	12	Colonel Leake makes it only 4 hours, but he passed a strait near the *Kara Dagh*, which perhaps shortened the distance.
13. Erekle . .	18	Said by Bertrandon de la Broquiere, in 1432, to be *two* days' journey in a *plain.*
14. Chayan . . .	4	
15. Oloukishla . .	4	Oloucouchela of Lucas.
16. Chafteen . .	5	Chaftecamp of Lucas.

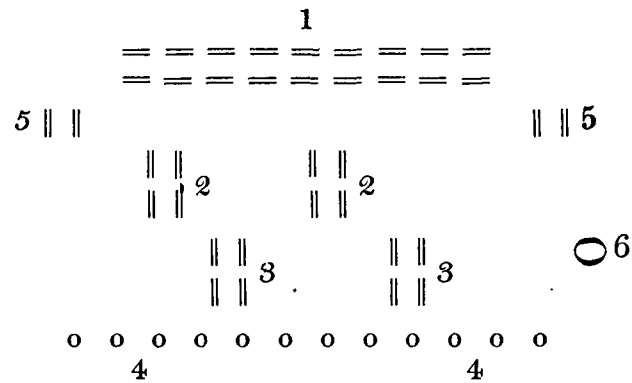
	HOURS.	
17. Tekireyeline	6	
18. Chutaschesme	6	
19. Yekuk Minaret	5	Choquen of Lucas.
20. Adana	6	Otter makes it 28 hours from *Oloukishla.*
21. Misis	6	Misis, also, of Otter, the Mopuestra of the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries.
22. Kalkoular	9	*Courteculla* of Lucas, *Courdkoulagni* of Otter.
23. Peias	6	Baiæ of the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries.
24. Scanderoon	6	Alexandria, near the Gulf of Issus.
25. Bellene	3	Bailam of Lucas, and Beilan of Otter, who make it the same distance, 3 hours.*
26. Karamontane	3	Khan *Karamout,* the Khan of Black Myrtle.
27. Antachia	3	Antioch, on the Orontes.
28. Zambachia	6	
29. Shoul	6	
30. Medik Kalesi	12	Kalaat-el-Medyk — the ancient *Apamea.*
31. Hadji Kalesi	12	
32. Huma	12	Hamah, the *Hamath* of Scripture.
33. Chamas	12	Homs, or Hems—the ancient *Emesa.*†

The scene of the battle.

* The Beilan Boghaz, where the Turkish army was defeated by Ibrahim Pasha, was the ancient Syriæ Pylæ.

† The monster Heliogabalus was a native of this city.

Fac-simile of the Plan drawn by Captain Yacoub Bey, of the disposition of the two Armies at the Battle of Chams, or Homs.



1. The sultan's army, forming an extended line.
2. } Battalions of Ibrahim Pasha's army each
3. } of — thousand men, with 25 pieces of cannon.
4. 4. Cannon and mortars.
5. 5. Cavalry.
6. An eminence on which two divisions of reserve were posted by Ibrahim Pasha.

The divisions 2 and 3 attacked in succession, alternately advancing and falling back into their former position; while the sultan's army kept invariably one long-continued line. Then the cavalry of Ibrahim having put to the rout those

of the sultan, and the mortars throwing bombs, the division 6 descended from the mountain, took the sultan's army in the rear, and totally defeated them; the troops dispersing, and flying in every direction, as each individual thought wisest and safest.

In the retreat after this battle, they had to contend with more destructive enemies;—the *cholera*, want of food, and want of water! The daily victims exceeded one thousand! Captain Yacoub calculated the total number at 20,000!

The Return from Syria after the Battle.

	HOURS.	
1. Shoul to Veket Minaret	14	In this day's march multitudes died of *cholera*, &c.
2. Hastamas . .	6	
3. Alep . . .	6	

From Aleppo to Antioch he did not recollect the road, having been obliged to traverse the mountains to avoid the Aleppines, who had revolted against the sultan, and declared in favour of Ibrahim.*

* It was near Chams, or Homs, the Emperor Aurelian defeated Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. The following account

We had an excellent dinner sent us by Mr. Balli, and with the good assistance of himself and Captain Yacoub Bey, whose sufferings had

of the battle will be an amusing contrast to Yacoub's description of modern warfare:—

"The Emperor Aurelian, after having entered Antioch, proceeded to Emisa, the Chams or Homs of the present day. Finding the Palmyrene army drawn up before Emisa, amounting to about seventy thousand men, consisting of Palmyrenes, and their allies, he opposed to them the Dalmatian cavalry, the Mœsians, and Pannonians, and the Celtic legions of Noricum and Rhœtia, and besides these the choicest of the imperial regiment selected man by man, the Mauritanian horse, the Tyaneans, the Mesopotamians, the Syrians, the Phœnicians, and the Palestinians, all men of acknowledged valour; the Palestinians, besides other arms, wielding clubs and staves.

"At the commencement of the engagement, the Roman cavalry receded, lest the Palmyrenes, who exceeded them in number, and were better horsemen, should by some stratagem surround the Roman army. But the Palmyrene cavalry pursued them so fiercely, though their ranks were broken, that the event was quite contrary to the expectation of the Roman cavalry. For they were pursued by an enemy much their superior in strength, and therefore most of them fell. The foot had to bear the brunt of the action. Observing that the Palmyrenes had broken their ranks when the horse commenced their pursuit, they wheeled about, and attacked them while they were scattered and out of order. Upon which many were killed, because the one side fought with the usual weapons, while those of Palestine brought clubs and staves against coats of mail made of iron and

neither affected his appetite nor his spirits, we did ample honour to it.

Monday, Nov. 12.—Milcom made loud complaints this morning against our lodging and fellow-lodgers. My bridle had been stolen, and one of the horse coverings. The poor soldiers were of course condemned, though upon insufficient evidence; and as several *christians* were repeatedly passing to and fro, I felt quite as disposed to call them the thieves.

Our breakfast was *en gourmand*, from a present of wild boar, shot on Mount Taurus, the best, as our appetites thought, we had ever tasted. We were in duty bound to thank the donor, a one-eyed Greek from Alexandria, who had lately built himself a smart house in his native town of Isbarta.

Though it rained deluges, we paid him a visit, and after pipes,* glykee, rosolio, &c. &c., the desert was a bag of medals, among which were

brass. The Palmyrenes therefore ran away with the utmost precipitation, and in their flight trod each other to pieces, as if the enemy did not make sufficient slaughter; the field was filled with dead men and horses, whilst the few that could escape took refuge in the city.—*History of Zosimus, page* 26.

* Literally *sweets*—conserve of roses, and other fruits.

many I would willingly have bought, but the price demanded was five times their value. Notwithstanding, I did subsequently agree to take the whole at the sum fixed; the contract was made—the bag sealed, and to be sent by Mr. Balli to Smyrna; but as usually happens in numismatic transactions, our one-eyed friend withdrew his pledge, and demanded double the sum. There were some medals of inedited towns in the collection; as two or three with KPH, Cremna or Cretopolis, and a fine medal of Baris, which probably decides that Isbarta occupies the site of that city.

We now paid a visit to the bazaars, and replenished our stock of sugar and raisins. The articles were weighed, and the money was paid, before we perceived that the poor man who sold them was blind! Seated on his shop-floor, habit had taught him to find every article with such precision, that no one, without looking attentively at him, would have suspected his misfortune.

The cataracts were not sufficiently formed to be operated upon, but I gave the poor fellow my address, and invited him to come to Smyrna

in the spring, with the consoling prospect of being relieved. It is impossible to describe his joy and gratitude at this unexpected good news. He gladly accepted the invitation, and we left him with a countenance beaming with delight.

I left him with somewhat different feelings, having been stung by a wasp, which was thieving among the sugar. The weather confined us to our chamber all the rest of the day, and I suffered so much, the hand and arm swelling, and the pain extending up to the shoulder, notwithstanding the application of laudanum, sal volatile, &c., that I could do little more than watch the progress of a portrait, made by Mr. Dethier, of Captain Yacoub, at the captain's own pressing request; and in the evening listen to the melancholy melody of our friends in the adjoining chamber.

It was a wild but mournfully pleasing strain of a few notes, repeated without variation, and Mr. Dethier thought it might be the air, which the Arabs are in the habit of singing every evening. It made a strong impression upon me, but I as little thought as these poor victims, that they were singing their funeral dirge.

In little more than a month after, they were all cut off to a man, in the sanguinary battle between Ibrahim Pasha and the Grand Vizier Reschid Pasha, when the latter was taken prisoner. They deserved a better fate, for they fought with the most determined courage; and the Egyptian has little to pride himself upon, as the victory was gained by the treachery and desertion of the Albanian troops, seduced, doubtless, by Egyptian gold.

Since I wrote this, an excellent article, called the "Crisis in the East," has appeared in the "Foreign Quarterly Review," for February last, in which the conduct of the Albanian troops is very differently represented, and their devotion to Reschid Pasha is highly applauded. However, what I have said was generally reported at Smyrna, and in the Smyrna papers at the time.

The circumstances which compelled me to request leave of absence from my duties at that place were so afflicting, that I left behind me the Moniteur Ottoman and Smyrna papers, with many notes on Ibrahim's invasion of Syria, and his successes there and in Anatolia. I shall,

therefore, take the liberty of giving some account of the two most important battles, from the "Foreign Quarterly," in illustration of my poor friend Yacoub's statements.

THE BATTLE AT HOMS.

The Turkish army, under the chief command of Hussein Pasha, arrived at Konia in May, 1832, but did not reach Antioch till July. The forces, however, of the Asiatic Pashas, united under the chief command of Mehemet Pasha, to the number of fifty thousand, mostly irregulars, had taken up their station in the neighbourhood of a town called Hammah, of considerable importance from its situation between the northern and southern provinces of Syria. Here they awaited the arrival of the Turkish grand army. No sooner were the Pashas joined by the advanced body of the Turkish regular army, than they quitted their encampment at Hammah, and descended into the open plains that extend on every side round the town of Homs. These plains are famous as the scene of many a contest. It was on them, in ancient times, that Zenobia contended with Aurelian,

and made her last vigorous efforts against the domination of the Romans. This place Ibrahim also was approaching, and on the seventh of July the conflict took place which decided the fate of Syria.

The actual amount of the Turkish army was considerably greater than that of Ibrahim's, being above fifty thousand men, but the number of regular troops was much less than his, consisting of not more than four regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry; in all, between nine and ten thousand men. The irregulars charged with impetuosity, but could make no impression upon the solid compact masses of Ibrahim's army. His infantry were placed in the centre, and the two wings consisted of cavalry. The battle on the Turkish side was, in fact, maintained by the regular troops. It is stated in the Turkish accounts, that they had advanced by forced marches, and had to engage the very day of their arrival. At all events, it is certain that the men could have had no time to recover from the fatigues of a long and rapid march. The battle lasted the whole day, and twice the Turkish troops seemed to gain the advantage, which they were, however,

unable to maintain. The Asiatic troops, long before the battle was over, had ceased to render much assistance; but upon the last charge which Ibrahim ordered with his guards, a panic, which nowhere spreads faster than in a Turkish army, seized upon them all, both regulars and irregulars, and a precipitate flight ensued. Night put an end to the pursuit, but the slaughter of the Turks was very great, and their overthrow complete. They were, moreover, as if in a hostile country, overwhelmed by the natives, &c. who, after their defeat, everywhere rose against them, and completed the work of destruction, wherever it had been left unfinished by the Egyptians. From two to three thousand perished in the field, and a far greater number in the subsequent flight.

On the 8th of July, Ibrahim advanced upon Hammah, and finding it abandoned, took possession of it.

The Turks defended Antioch with such determined courage, that after a most desperate and sanguinary conflict, Ibrahim was obliged to retire. But the Turks were dying with hunger

and disease, though provisions had been brought to the port of Scanderoon.

On the 15th of July he entered Aleppo, the inhabitants hailing him as their deliverer; and then went in pursuit of Hussein, and the Turkish army, which had taken up their position behind the pass of Bylan Boghaz, the ancient Pylæ Syriæ, situated between the port of Scanderoon and the town of Antioch. The Turkish troops were ranged along the heights, and artillery was posted on all the commanding points: the cavalry were dispersed in different parts of the defile. The Egyptians reached the pass on the 28th of July, and proceeded to force it on the following morning.

The Turks fought with such determined courage, that the Egyptians were repulsed in three successive charges, and made but little progress during a great portion of the day. When, however, by a well directed fire from their artillery, they had succeeded in dismounting some of the Turkish guns, and produced confusion in their ranks, Ibrahim sent round his guards to endeavour to take the heights on one

side, where they were accessible, and made a simultaneous charge in front. The manœuvre was completely successful. The Turks, seized again with a panic, fled in the greatest disorder, leaving their guns, ammunition, &c. and were pursued with dreadful slaughter. The loss of the Turks, killed, is estimated at thirteen thousand men. They were completely dispersed or taken prisoners. Some deserted and joined the Egyptians, and the remaining few made their way as they best could to Konia.

On the 1st of August, Antioch surrendered to Ibrahim Pasha, and he became master of all Syria. Hussein was recalled, and Reschid Pasha, the grand vizier, was invested with his powers and dignities.

Ibrahim, in October, entered Anatolia, and defeating a body of Turks at Ereklè, arrived at Konia on the first of November.

The Turkish army under Reschid Pasha arrived at Aksher, from whence, in the middle of December, he advanced with the main body, and after innumerable difficulties and dreadful sufferings, his troops arrived near Konia the 20th of December. On the following day the battle

took place, which terminated in the complete annihilation of the sultan's army, and the capture of the grand vizier himself.

In the first week of February, 1833, Ibrahim had advanced to Kutaieh, solely as he pretended, for the greater convenience which it afforded in the supply of provisions and of wood for the army. It was during his residence here, that the sultan acceded to the demands of the Egyptian, appointing him Pasha of Abyssinia and Djidda, and governor of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina; and to that of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt and Candia, was added the pashalick of Syria. The government of Adana was subsequently added. In the month of May, Ibrahim left Kutaieh and began his retrograde march.

CHAPTER II.

Leave Isbarta—Ancient vestiges—Arrive at Aglason—River of Sagalassus—Course of the Duden, the Catarractes—The position corrected of the Cestrus and Eurymedon—Archbishop of Pisidia's information—Ruins of Sagalassus—Peripteri temple—Porticoes—Gymnasium—Church of Sagalassus—Theatre—Miss my companions—The wild boar—Tombs—The Oda bashi's conjecture on the diazon of the theatre—The camel and its medicinal and moral qualities—Siege of Sagalassus by Alexander—Macedonian phalanx—Bishops of Sagalassus.

Tuesday Nov. 13—The weather brightened this morning, and having paid visits to Mr. Balli, his brother, and our one-eyed friend, and compelled to take pipes and rackee, and sweets and coffee at all, we prepared to set out for Aglason; but previously visited, *en Hakim*, a Greek family, in which Kyriacos took a lively interest, to see a poor girl who had lost the sight of one eye. It was occasioned by the puncture of a needle; the pupil destroyed, and of course no cure.

Perhaps I am noticing an eventful period in the future fortunes of Kyriacos, for the poor girl had beautiful sisters with both eyes sound; the family respectable and wealthy; and Kyriacos declared the only places, to find a wife, were Isbarta and Koula.

We left our friends of the barrack, and mounted our horses at eleven o'clock. The recollection of my snow adventures in 1826 were so lively, that we determined on the present occasion to be more prudent, and not to run the risk of being buried in the snows of Mount Taurus, for the sake of saving an hour or two of distance; and accordingly set out to take the longer but safer road, of eight hours, by the plain. So many people were on their way for the bazaar at Isbarta to-morrow, that being assured there was no snow, we again took the shorter road.

At ten minutes before twelve, when traversing the bed of the river, with the high calcareous mountain on the right, we saw on the summit two arched entrances partly broken off, as if the mountain, or part of it, had been rent away; and being quite perpendicular, if not overhanging the ravine, it evidently had been so. I was

therefore, not deceived in my first journey, when I fancied I saw considerable remains, though attributing them subsequently to nature, as at Dopos Kalesi,

> "The rocky summit, split and rent,
> Formed turret, dome, or minaret."

But connecting these actual remains with those of the ancient bridge and walls, crossing the torrent-bed, and the fragments of columns, it is quite certain that some town must have occupied the lofty site of the mountain on the right. The road from Isbarta by the *plain*, must pass behind this mountain, that is, on the *west;* and, very probably, had we taken that route, we should have discovered more important ruins.

There is such an extraordinary variety of rocks, to say nothing of the more extraordinary direction of their strata, calcareous, sandstone, white marble, and several kinds of volcanic stone, besides the green mineral which I found on my first journey, probably *glycone*,—that a geologist would have a wide field for research, and a still wider for conjecture, as to the causes of these contradictory formations.

Having crossed and re-crossed, and traversed the bed of the river so frequently, we see no more of it as we come to the foot of the memorable hill usually covered with snow. It rises in two sources near this spot, and flowing down to the town of Isbarta, is subsequently absorbed by the thirsty plain, unless, like so many other rivers in this country, it then takes a subterranean course.

We found here the inscription on the column which I had seen in my first journey, and which, as restored by the kindness of Colonel Leake, is a dedication to the emperors, Septimus Severus, and Caracalla.

Λουκιω (Σεπτι)
μιω (Σεουηρω)
ευσεβει (Περτι)
νακι και (Μαρκω)
Αυρηλιω (Αντωνει)
νω Σεβασ (τοις με)
γιστοις Α (ραβικοις)
Αδιαβηνικο (ις Παρθι
Κοις . . . . .
. : . . αλων

Lucio Septimo Severo Pio Pertinaci et
Marco Aurelio Antonino, Augustis, maximis,
Arabicis, Adiabenicis, Parthicis.

Having copied the inscription, we soon began to ascend the mountain; and seeing it now, naked, without snow, I was astonished that we could ever have reached the summit; so full of rocks and enormous chasms, deep enough to cover twenty horses, but in 1826 presenting one smooth, uniform surface.

Great cause, indeed, had we for gratitude to the preserving mercy of God, for no hand but his could have guided us safely to the summit. It was extremely difficult to ascend even to day, and a work of considerable time;—how much more fearful when covered with snow!

Descending by the long and difficult descent on the other side, we sent the horses on to Aglason; and Kyriacos preferred to accompany them, while Mr. Dethier and I mounted to the terrace, on which stand the ruins of Sagalassus; and having taken a hasty view of them, especially the theatre, descended by the steep, stony hill of the Acropolis.

On our way, we discovered the platform either of a mausoleum or small temple, with the trunk of a finely-executed statue. Though nearly dark, we found our way to the village of Aglason, and were soon comfortably seated in a capital oda, with numerous Turks around us, ready to give us all the information in their power.

The river of Aglason, or rather Sagalassus, the ancient Cestrus, rises very near the road by which we descended before reaching the ruins, and is called, in Turkish, by a word which signifies "*the Greek daughter.*" We were assured that this river flows down to Adalia, and that six or eight hours from Adalia there is a lake, out of which issues a river, which *falls down to considerable height*, and afterwards passes b it it bridge of forty arches, (probably an aqueduc and is then called the Duden Sou, down the Adalia. on,

It is evident, by this account, that the riv rd, of Sagalassus, and the Duden Sou, are differ po- streams. The Duden is clearly the Catarrac Ces- and this fall from a considerable height, indep are ently of its subsequent fall over the cliff int sea, puts it beyond doubt; and as its sour e

from the lake, it explains, what would otherwise be difficult, how the Cestrus, or river of Sagalassus, should have its sources to the west or north-west of the Duden, and yet fall into the sea considerably to the east of it.

When Lucas came from Sousou, after three hours he ascended the mountains of Ustanaasi, then descended into a plain, then reascended by a magnificent road of white marble, and found ruins of an immense fortress, with two large gates; after which *immense* ruins on the slope of the mountain as descending into the plain, which descent was above an hour and a half, and the ruins all the way. This mountain he calls Chenet; the plain below, Bilieri Ovasi.

e hour and a half after entering this plain, ch was watered by the Duden, he conacked r the river. This river, at a little dis- ce from hence, is lost at the foot of a rock *arpée*, and does not appear again till five or leagues from thence; then, after a short dis- e, again passes *underground*, and thence to ia.

s Lucas's conac, near the Duden, must have

been eight hours from Sousou, he was evidently below, or to the south of, the place where it is said to issue out of the *lake*, and which, being behind the mountain, of course he did not see. But where it *subsequently* becomes *subterranean*, and from which it takes its name of Duden, it is difficult to say; for by General Koehler's route the river was *in sight* all the way from Adalia to the ruins of Termessus, the same which Lucas describes *before* he came to the Duden.

It is therefore probable, it was subterranean in its previous course, before it re-issues from the lake; and if so, the stream seen by General Koehler at Karabunarkeuy may be the Duden, and its subterranean course between that place and the lake. I would not venture positively connect it with the river near Tshaltigtshi, bu is possible that they may be identified.

In all the maps hitherto, the sources of rivers Catarractes, Cestrus, and Eurymed have been placed much too far to the eastwa which is corrected by the discovery of the sition of Sagalassus, and the sources of the trus; for as the sources of the Eurymedon

said by Strabo to be not far from those of the Cestrus, or at least the rivers were near each other, because both are said to fall from the mountains of Selge into the Pamphylian sea, the source of the Eurymedon has now been placed rather in a westerly than eastern direction. This would not be much removed from the sources of a river of which the Archbishop of Pisidia gave me the following account.

" About two hours and a half (or three hours) from Isbarta, towards the east, (or south-east,) is the village of Sav, where is the source of a river called the Sav-sou. Five hours and half beyond, and still towards the east (south-east,) is the village of Pavli, (St. Paul,) and *here* the river, which had continued its course so far, is *lost* in the mountains: that is becomes subterranean, and it is not again visible till after twenty-five hours, when it re-issues from the mountains and passes close by *considerable ruins*, at seven hours above Eski Satalia, near which place it falls into the sea, having sometime previously divided into two considerable streams."

Now though the subterranean course of twen-

ty-five hours is extraordinary, and it would be rather too much to identify it with the Eurymedon, yet the archbishop, who has been in the constant habit of travelling every year from Alaya, the limits of his diocese, up to Isbarta, assured me positively, there are no other rivers whatever on the road, that is, *after* the streams which have their æstuary near Eski Adalia. (*Side.*)

The *considerable ruins* which he speaks of as *seven* hours above Eski Adalia, would be those of Pednelissus or Aspendus, though the latter was only six or eight miles from the sea. The *two streams* seem to account for the river between the Eurymedon and the Melas not being named by Strabo; if it was only a branch of the Eurymedon it was unnecessary.

The account which the archbishop had the kindness to give as to the extent of his diocese, was interesting, and will be noticed hereafter.

Our kind friends of the oda gave us much interesting information about the ruins of a city, said to resemble in position, those of Sagalassus, but more extensive, at the distance of five hours, and as there is a village called Debrè, (Devrè)

only three hours from Aglasun, we determined to take a guide and go thither to-morrow, in the confident assurance that it must be Selge.

This city of which the discovery, according to Colonel Leake, "would be the most interesting in this part of the country," was celebrated according to Strabo, for the *styrax* tree, and the resinous gum which it produced. There was also a peculiar species of Iris, called the Σελγικη ιρις, from which an ointment was made.

The villagers could give us no account of the styrax tree, but we were assured, that iris of three colours are found at the village near which we hoped to find the ruins of Selge. We were also told that there is a small plain with olives and vines, corresponding exactly with the description of Strabo.

Wednesday Nov. 14.—We rose at an early hour, intending to take a view of the ruins of Sagalassus, and afterwards to proceed to the village of Debrè, near which is the supposed site of Selge. We rode to the foot of the acropolis, sending back our horses, and while Mr. Dethier sketched the statue we had discovered yesterday, Kyriacos and I ascended to the site of the temple near the

acropolis. Before we arrived there, I observed a wall with *polygon stones*, much anterior, of course, to most of the ruins, which seem to be principally Roman.

The ground plan of the temple is perfect, and though the columns are thrown down, the exact position of each can be clearly made out. It was of that kind called *peripteri*, the order Corinthian. The cell was sixty-two feet six inches long, by thirty-one feet six inches wide. Breadth from the cell, of the flanks on which the side columns were placed, eight feet and a half. On each of the flanks were nine columns, eight feet and a half distant from each other. The pronaos had only four columns, and the same number in the posticus. The columns, which are fluted, are three feet in diameter.

This temple exactly resembles the temple at Euromus, which was also a temple of the peripteri kind. The cell was only fifty-one feet long, and twenty-eight feet wide. The breadth of the flanks from the cell five feet; the columns four feet distant from each other; the same number of columns exactly in both; the diameter of the columns two feet two inches, *fluted*. Before

On Stone by L. Haghe.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the King. Gate St. Lincs. Inn Fields

RUINS of SAGALASSUS.

Published by R. Bentley, London. 1834.

the pronaos, a flight of steps or staircase. This does not exist in the temple at Sagalassus, but in front, when going from this temple towards the acropolis, is a large heap of fragments, the probable site of another temple, the columns also fluted, but only two feet in diameter. Part of the ground-plan remains.

The acropolis rises near this, a conical hill of considerable height, separated by a narrow ravine from the last-mentioned ruins; and having the sides covered with sarcophagi and sepulchral marbles, many of both, with inscriptions and figures in bas relief.

Returning to the last ruins, a portico runs towards the mountain, or north, nearly three hundred feet long, and about twenty-seven wide. To this succeeds a pavement filled with pedestals, &c., and beyond, on the right, are the remains of an extensive edifice, more oblong than square, the walls composed of enormous blocks; and in the centre two very large arches, as if the souterrain of a building above them. On the northern wall was sculptured a large circular shield. Could this have been a gymnasium?

Nearly close to this building is another, with

a circular wall, and places for beams, like that at Yalobatch, and like that probably a *portico* of the kind called *sigma*. The front is straight, with a square doorway in the centre. If the circular end had not been perpendicular, I should have taken it for an Odeon.

Above, or more to the north, is another square paved inclosure, full of pedestals, capitals, &c. beyond which, are foundations and two walls, evidently belonging to another immense building, probably another temple. Here, on fragments belonging to the frieze, are two bas reliefs of females, holding a garland, sculptured with great spirit. The walls which stand are north and south, but they form a very small proportion of the whole building, which extended principally towards the east. Several doorways on the south side are still visible, of small size, a few feet above the ground.

The street now takes a direction towards the west, and the terrace is edged by the remains of a massy wall. Beyond this succeeds an immense heap of sculptured stones and other walls, and nearly at the north-west extremity are the remains of a very ancient *Christian* temple. In

my first visit I doubted its being so, but there is abundant evidence to prove it.

It is constructed of large blocks of marble; the architecture of the richest style, the columns fluted with Corinthian capitals, and two feet in diameter.

The building stands east and west. The total length about one hundred and sixty feet; the breadth of the nave about seventy-five. The bema is not circular, but angular, the breadth as the nave seventy-five feet and the depth twenty-one. Between the bema and the nave is a transept extending sixteen feet on either side beyond the nave, making the entire breadth of this part about a hundred and seven feet. From each of these sides a doorway opened, into what was probably a side portico with pillars. There were three gates or doors at the great entrance, the centre one, as usual, very large. The portico, or pronaos, was twenty-seven feet long, and beyond this, the walls were still extended on either side. From the number of columns lying in all directions, some fluted, others plain, it is possible there was a nave and side-aisles, but there are no foundations to support the conjec-

ture, and the columns may have belonged to the front and side colonnades. On the upper part of the walls, which are standing on the north-eastern end, are a number of small figures, for the most part grotesque, as masks, &c., but executed in a very spirited style. A large cross is cut deep into one of the blocks of the principal entrance.

Beyond the church on the west side, at the distrance of about one hundred feet, is a large heap of enormous stones belonging to either a circular or semicircular edifice; that which remains of the circle being towards the west, not the east, as a bema. There is little doubt that it was circular, and elevated on a basement with steps to ascend to it.

If there had been one on the other side, but I saw no remains, the church with those additions would have resembled the supposed church of St. John at Pergamus, supposing they had been carried to the same height. The diameter does not appear to have been more than fifteen feet. If a conjecture as to its destination may be hazarded, I should take it for a baptistery.

We had appointed the theatre as the place of

rendezvous; but I had spent so much time in measuring the church, that on arriving at the theatre, my friends were neither in sight, nor within the reach of my voice, though, mounted on one of the highest seats of the theatre, I strained it to the utmost.

I have remarked in my former visit the admirable state of preservation in which the theatre still exists. So much of the proscenium is standing, that the entire plan may be perfectly made out; and the diazoma or corridor is so well preserved, that I walked nearly all round it—not, I confess, without some apprehension of breaking in upon the retirement of a wolf or a hyæna.

"The theatre most strongly attracted our attention, being in a state of preservation superior even to those of Laodicea and Hierapolis. I could almost fancy the crowds of ancient days rushing in at the different portals, and impatiently taking their places. The seats, forty in number, were almost as perfect as if still in use; and a considerable portion of the proscenium and entrance was nearly as perfect.

"The orchestra was covered with snow, as well as a large heap of stones close to the proscenium.

Among those covered, we saw a good deal of architectural ornament of excellent execution, but neither bas relief nor inscription. We had no means of ascertaining the external diameter; but the interior must be about ninety feet, as the pulpitum of the proscenium was above eighty-six. In the pulpitum was a centre door, fifteen feet high and nine wide, and two smaller doors on either side, of which, the nearest was eleven feet high, and nine wide, but the most remote, near the ends of the cavea, only five, including one of the door-posts. The distance between the pulpitum and the scene was eighteen feet. From the doors of the pulpitum were four steps to descend into the orchestra. The dramatis personæ were a solitary fox and a covey of red-legged partridges." *

It was now evident my friends had returned to the village; I followed the proposed road by the side of the mountain, in the hope of finding them, but without success, and then descended by a very difficult and fatiguing steep, for road there was none, to the river, and thence to Aglason, where I found my companions already arrived,

* First Journey, p. 142.

and in great distress about me, having searched and halloed, and fired shot after shot, to no effect. This will of itself convey a good idea of the extent of the ruins of Sagalassus, for I neither heard voice nor gun.

My apprehensions, while in the dark, vaulted passage of the corridor, were not altogether fanciful. Mr. Dethier heard a rustling in a thicket near him, and had the agreeable sight instantly after of a wild boar within six feet of him; the long, curved, ivory tusks, displayed with full effect upon the black bristly coat.

Fortunately, the wild boar, unless attacked, does not alter his line of march; and therefore, though Mr. Dethier was so near him, he only gave a horrible grunt, and then moved on. Mr. D.'s gun was only loaded with small shot, and therefore, though he fired when the animal was at a respectable distance, it was, of course, without any other effect than to put Kyriacos, who was some way in advance, upon his guard.

Scarcely was the gun discharged, and Kyriacos had heard the caution—"*Le sanglier a vous sauvez-vous*—the wild boar is upon you—save yourself"—when the ferocious-looking mon-

ster passed close by him; but very quietly, and without deigning to notice him.

The horses and baggage, palank and paplomas, were all ready for departing to Devrè; but the man who undertook to be our guide suddenly disappeared, and another demanding fifty piastres, with the assertion that the village was five hours off instead of three, we abandoned the journey till the morrow, probably to the satisfaction of the whole party, as we were already sufficiently fatigued.

Reverting now to the ruins of the city, Strabo correctly describes it as *walled*, τειχειζοντα, with the mountains; and it is easy to imagine that Alexander must have had a difficult task in the siege. The acropolis is lofty and strong; the emplacement of the city is very extensive, the principal part of it, forming two streets at right angles, of great length. Not sufficiently acquainted with ancient architecture, it was impossible for me to make out the original appropriation of half the ruins, of which the foundations and immense heaps of materials remain. But the Corinthian order prevailed nearly throughout the whole, the church not excepted.

The most ancient remains are the polygon wall, and part of another of the same kind, on the descent from behind the theatre down into the valley. These are probably vestiges of the days of Alexander.

The places of burial are innumerable—sarcophagi lie about in every direction, not only all around the acropolis, but at considerable distances from it. Almost the whole had been violated, notwithstanding the fearful interdictions with which sepulchral inscriptions usually abound, and their covers lie beside them, either broken or entire.

The circularly arched recesses for the urns in the mountain-side were nearly as numerous. Many are rent away by the falling of large fragments of rock, and some are placed so high, as almost to require a telescope to see them. A great many are ornamented with garlands and the caput bovis; others with simply a circular wreath or crown—the emblem of that *crown* of everlasting life, the reward of fidelity unto death.

In some that are high up, there are three or more circular recesses, as a family burial-place, and inscriptions were originally on most, though now illegible.

The view, from the terrace or street of the acropolis, of the plain below, and of the mountains beyond, is magnificent in the extreme. The distant mountains rise like the countless waves of the sea agitated by a violent tempest; and if accurately delineated, would not be credited: the most distant ridge is covered with snow.

The theatre, though not large, would probably contain six thousand persons. Our host of the oda expressed his wonder at the long vaulted gallery which forms the *diazon;* and after many a vain conjecture, decided at last that it was most probably meant as a place for the camels to be *à l'abri du soleil.*

He had been skinning a camel, and probably the brilliant idea had its origin from thence. The poor animal, after a long and weary day's work, had fallen and broken its thigh, and the caravanji was obliged to kill it. We coveted a steak, but arrived too late.*

* De Camelina—Quæ palatorum lubido? Arabes abstinent suilla, quam tot populorum consensus et sensus suavissimam et saluberrimam probant: camelorum autem carnes avide lurcantur, quas apud nos gustaret nemo, nisi corpore simul et animo, ut cum Galeno loquar, καμηλωδης.—*Gronovii Thesaur.* vol. 9. lib. iii. cap. 9.

Having a grateful recollection of the kind manner in which we were received on my former journey, I went in search of the house, which was in a different part of the village; but the dogs are so much less civil to strangers than their masters, that I was glad to return before I had reached half way.

An ancient cross on a stone was an evidence, that in other and better times there had been, probably, more than one church; but, perhaps, there were not many more zealous (though mistaken) worshippers, than some of the followers of Mahomet. Our host, about five o'clock, while we were in loud, if not noisy conversation, took down the skin of some wild animal, and spreading it as his

But in justice to the camel, I must give another extract from Mr. Robert Lovell's (of Oxford) Panzoologicomineralogia, page 26.

Galen, Aristotle, and Pliny say, both their milk and flesh are of the *sweetest*. The fat of the haunch, the blood, the brain, the teeth, the gall, the tail, are all extolled by Lovell as medicinal. This is not the place to particularize, but I cannot omit one important property:—"One that is poisoned being put into the belly of a camel newly killed, is helped thereby, the heat thereof dissolving the poison, and strengthening the spirits." I conclude with the camel's moral character. "They are revengeful, docible, *love music*, are bashful, and compassionate."

carpet of prayer, deliberately performed his devotions in the midst of us. Alas! how ought we to blush! *

Sagalassus, otherwise called Selgessus, was one of the most important cities, and most fertile districts in Pisidia. It is described by Strabo as being within Taurus, near Milyas, which district extended northward as far as those of Sagalassus and Apamea. Artemidorus, as quoted by Strabo, places Sagalassus the second in his list of cities of Pisidia, the first being Selge.

The siege by Alexander is thus described.

"He went and encamped before Sagalassus, which is a strong place, and was well provided with the flower of their forces for its defence; for though all the Pisidians are warlike and brave, yet the Sagalassenses are esteemed the stoutest of them all.

* In my first visit, a Turk sold me a large brass cross of ancient date, with the usual legend $\overline{\text{XP}}\Sigma$ NIKA, "Christ conquers." Oh, may the hour speedily arrive, when all the population of this interesting spot, without the aid of letters on a brass cross to recall their obligations to Him who died to save them from the errors of a false religion and the corruptions of a new one, shall unite in ascribing "thanks to God who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!"

" These being reinforced with troops from the Telmessians, their allies, and having more confidence in their own courage than in their walls, had drawn up their army on a neighbouring hill—a hill in advance of their town; and by reason of the advantage they had of the ground, they repulsed the light-armed forces Alexander had sent against them.

" However, the Agrians * made an obstinate resistance, and seemed to be encouraged by the

* It appears from the Tactics of Ælian, that Alexander's forces consisted of Hypaspistæ, (targetiers,) archers, and *Agrians;* the Agrians were light-armed troops, who " in all attempts of speed were employed by Alexander, and served the purpose by reason of their lightness." They were foot soldiers, and armed only with darts. These were slender pieces of wood, about three feet long, armed at one end with a head of iron with a sharp point, to the end to pierce whatsoever it should fall upon. About the middle of these darts they fastened a thong, which was called αγκυλον, wherein, inserting their fore-finger, they lanced the dart with more facility.

" The Hypaspistæ were a description of force between the heavy armed and the light: their arms, a target and spear.

" The Macedonian phalanx is armed with target and pike: the target of brass, and somewhat hollow, and being eight handfulls in diameter, about two feet."

As we have already had occasion to allude to the modern tactics of Ibrahim Pasha and the Turks, it may be amusing

approach of the Macedonian phalanx and the king's presence, whom they beheld before the colours.

to contrast it with the description of the Macedonian phalanx from the same old translation of Ælian:

"The Macedonian phalanx hath of enemies beene thoughte unresistible, by reason of the manner of embattling. For the souldier with his armes standeth in close order, or shutting, when he is ready for fight, occupying two cubits of ground. And the length of his pike is sixteen cubits according to the first institution, but in truth it ought to be fourteen cubits; whereof the space betwixt the hands in charging taketh up two cubits, the other twelve lye out from the fronte of the battle. Those in the second ranke, that stand next to their leaders, (loosing foure cubits in the phalange,) have their pikes reaching over the first ranke ten cubits. Those of the third ranke, eight cubits; of the fourth ranke, six cubits: of the fifth, four cubits; of the sixth, two cubits.

"The pikes of the others behind cannot attaine to the first ranke. And seeing five or six pikes are charged over the first ranke, they present a fearful sight to the enemy, and double the strength of the souldier, standing fortified, as it were, with five or six pikes, and seconded with a man's force at his backe. Moreover, they that are placed after the sixth ranke, albeit they push not with their pikes, yet thrusting on with the weight of their bodies, to enforce the strength and power of the phalange, and leave no hope for the file-leaders to flee, or shift away." *

I have another motive for giving this extract, and that is, to

* Tactics of Œlian, page 85.

"The soldiers laboured under great difficulties while they forced their way up the hill; but as soon as they had got a little firmer footing, they easily dispersed the multitude of mountaineers that were but half armed.

"There fell in this action, of the Macedonians, Cleander, who was a captain, and about twenty private men; of the barbarians, four hundred were slain; the rest saved themselves by flight, and their knowledge of the country. The king pursued them as fast as troops encumbered with

illustrate and vindicate the scriptural account of the spear of Goliath: "And the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam, and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron." *

The Macedonian pike was sixteen cubits, and not to be less than fourteen cubits; that is, from twenty-four to twenty-six feet long, and which must surely appear quite as incredible to modern notions as the spear of the champion of Gath.

How Alexander was himself armed, we are also told in the notes upon Ælian, from Plutarch: "He had a Sicilian cassock gyrded upon a double linen curace, the spoile of Issus; his headpiece was of iron, shining like pure silver, the work of Theophilus; about his neck was an iron gorget besette with precious stones. A sword hee had of wonderful temper and lightnesse, the gift of the Citiean king. Hee wore a bandricke of prowder worke then the rest of his armour, the work of the elder Elicon, and the honour of the Rhodian city." (page 17.)

* 1 Sam. xvii. 7.

arms possibly could, and at the same time made himself master of their town." *

The consul Manlius did not attack the city, but, by ravaging their territory, compelled the Sagalassians to come to terms. They submitted to a contribution of fifty talents, twenty thousand medimni of wheat, and the same quantity of barley.

In the ecclesiastical Notitiæ, Sagalassus holds the second place among the cities of Pisidia, Antioch being the first.

The Oriens Christianus gives the following names as Bishops of Sagalassus.

Jovius.

Fonteianus.

Theodosius.

Leo (in the synod under Pope John VIII.)

* Franshemius's Supplement to Quintus Curtius, vol. i. page 144.

CHAPTER III.

Leave Aglason—Village of Issarkeuy and castle—Descent through a pine forest—Lose our way, but with a Turcoman guide arrive at Debrè—Turkish stocking-knitters—Mr. Detheir's necromancy—Village of Germè—Ascent to the Acropolis—Ruins—Theatre—Temples—Porticoes—Conjectures on the ancient name—whether Cremna or Selge.

Thursday, Nov. 15.—We left Aglason at a quarter before nine; and not being disposed to pay fifty piastres for a guide, we trusted to our own sagacity. Having passed through the plain, or rather valley, we crossed the Cestrus, at half-past nine, by a bridge, on which was a large column with an inscription: with a little attention it might have been read, but we were so anxious for the discovery of Selge, that every thing else was of minor importance.

At ten o'clock we quitted the plain and the river, which runs down a bogaz at the left, and

ascended the mountain. The road was horribly craggy, but ornamented by balsam trees, juniper, and valonea. At half-past ten, we were in a little plain elevated between the mountains: here we observed, in the small dry bed of a stream, a quantity of minute black grains, or sand, resembling *manaccanite*. Our course south-east.

Having passed through hills magnificently clothed with pines, we came to another plain, or plateau, at half-past eleven. Here was a village called Assar Keuy, or Issar Keuy, for they told us there was a castle on the mountain behind the village. We remained here till a quarter before twelve, endeavouring to prevail on some of the villagers to conduct us to Debrè.

A man engaged to do it, but retracted his promise; and we again set out alone, with, as we imagined, ample directions for the road, and the assurance that Debrè was only distant two hours. Our course was south by west till a quarter past twelve, when, quitting the plain, we entered a bogaz, or gorge, between high precipitous mountains.

The bogaz soon expanded into a narrow valley

or ravine, and the road led along the mountain side. Nothing could exceed the grandeur and beauty of this road. Both sides of the ravine were covered with wood—pines, valonea, ilex, arbutus, myrtle, &c.—with the steep, naked mountain peaks towering above on either side. In front, a succession of ridges of mountains, range after range, the most distant covered with snow.

We descended to a great depth in this ravine, seeing, on the right, a curious rock overhanging at a great elevation the ravine, and which exactly resembled a mitred bishop on his throne. Below this we passed what in another season would be the source of a *Catarractes*, flowing down the steep side of the mountain, and forming a small stream in the valley.

We were now in a pine forest, with trees of prodigious size and height; multitudes running up straight enough and high enough to serve for a main-mast of a first-rate ship. Hundreds of these enormous trees lay about, in all directions, torn up by the roots, a terrible evidence of the hurricanes that must sweep along this ravine.

Very low down in the valley, for we were

still descending, we found the wild olive, myrtle, picro daphne, (laurel rose,) planes, and numerous other trees; among these a very common one resembled the pomegranate, but with smaller leaf, more narrow and pointed, and with straight branches. If the leaf had more resembled the quince, we should have taken it for the *styrax*, for the branches were strong enough for arrows, though not long enough for javelins.

Most of the pines had incisions in the bark for the turpentine to distil, and quantities of it were in a hardened, coagulated state upon the trees, and we subsequently saw large heaps at our conac, which is sent to Smyrna, &c. for sale.

Our road became very difficult at this depth of the valley, which descended still to a vastly greater depth, when we providentially met a man driving some asses loaded with wood, who gave us the uncomfortable news that we had taken a wrong road, and instead of arriving at Debrè, as we hoped to do in a few minutes, we had still above an hour to go. The man, a Turcoman, very kindly consented to be our conducteur to the village, though not in his road; and we had great reason for gratitude to God, who had sent

him so opportunely, for we were subsequently told, that the road we had quitted in the valley, goes on without termination even to Adalia, eighteen hours below, without a single house to shelter in all the way.

Leaving the ravine, we now ascended the hill on the right, or in a southern direction, and, at two o'clock, had recovered our way in a tolerably good road. The scenery we now passed through was still of the most strikingly magnificent character.

On a rock, rising out of a valley on the left, wooded on all sides, was a castle called Chackall Kalesi. I looked at it with the telescope, and saw it was built with large uncemented stones; but one side seemed to be crenellated.

In a valley almost at right angles with the one we quitted, must run the Cestrus,—the ranges of mountains beyond and parallel to it, in endless succession, till lost in snow.

As we approached the village, a high mountain rose on the right, having a large plateau on the summit. Our guide assured us that the ruins we were in pursuit of were on this mountain; but as it was very near the village, instead of

one hour and a half, as we had been told at Aglason, and as not a single cut stone was to be seen in the cemetery or houses of Debrè as we entered it, we began to feel apprehension that we had either been altogether misinformed, as in our ride to Besh-sher, or that the ruins were still at a distance.

It was three o'clock when we arrived at Debrè, having been six and a half hours on the road, instead of three, as we had been informed before setting out. To our dismay, as we entered the oda, we were told by all around us, that no ruins were on the mountain nor near it, and we were regretting bitterly our loss of time and labour, when an old chasseur, who came in, cheered us again with the assurance that there really were considerable ruins in the mountain at an hour and a half from hence, and promised to conduct us thither to-morrow.

His son, also a chasseur, who had killed a chamois, or wild goat, of which the skin was displayed in the oda, gave us more circumstantial information. According to him, there was a theatre, and a place where the princesses, seated on tapestry of silk and gold, viewed the combatants.

Our chamber was filled by all the villagers, simple and well-disposed, but curious in the extreme, having never seen a Frank before. It was amusing to see most of them come in, as the countrywomen in Wales on a market day, industriously employed in knitting stockings.

Their mode of working was novel and ingenious; a small piece of wood, resembling, in form and length, the common tambour-needle, being substituted for the usual needles, and the work seemed to be done quite as expeditiously, though not quite so neatly. Several of them were old white bearded gentlemen, but we were told, that it was absolutely imperative upon all the young Turks to make their own stockings.*

Mr. Dethier's capsuled gun and pistols created in Debrè, as they had done all along the road, the most profound astonishment. The precision with which he struck a stone with a ball, from one of the pistols which had neither flint nor match, excited a feeling approaching to awe; but, when placing the candle on the floor, and standing at some distance, he extinguished the light with his gun, which had neither flint, match, nor powder, nor ball, the impression clearly was, that it was done by necromancy.

We entertained our visitors with coffee, and were heartily glad when they took their leave; an enormous fire and a room more than full of people raising the temperature to more than fever heat. Our dinner again to-day was soup de farine; a dish with eggs and onions; a capital wheat pilau; petmes and cheese.

Friday, Nov. 16.—We were so impatient to arrive at the supposed ruins of Selge, that we had scarcely time to prepare medicines for our numerous patients; Mr. Dethier's sorcery of last night having conferred celebrity also on the Hakim bashi.

The ladies of Debrè, in addition to being very good looking, wore a remarkably beautiful head-dress—a large white handkerchief, or short veil, under which, apparently, a red embroidered *fez* with flowers, for we were too distant to distinguish accurately, and across the forehead an ornamented braiding *à la Ferroniere.*

It was twenty minutes before nine when we left the village, accompanied by our young chasseur, armed with a Damascus rifle, pistols, and yatagan, and who yet betrayed some apprehensions of going with us alone.

Ch. Stone ad. L. Haghe

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the King.

ACROPOLIS at GERMÈ. CRENNA.

Published by R. Bentley. London. 1834.

Having arrived, through pines and fruit trees, at the bottom of the valley, which separates the village from the opposite mountain, at nine o'clock we ascended on the other side. The road was a stony path, in some places nearly perpendicular, through pines of the most magnificent growth; here, too, the effects of the dreadful hurricane were strongly marked in the multitude of trees rooted up, or broken off at different heights from the ground.

The same tree or shrub which we had remarked yesterday, was here in great abundance. The leaf rather resembled that of the tea-tree, though it was not jagged at the edges, and the taste was strongly astringent. The people of Debrè called it Kara-gatch, and told us they used it to make charcoal for their gunpowder. But Kara-gatch, "the black tree," is a name generally given by the Turks, who know nothing of Linnæus, to all trees that do not bear fruit.

We at length arrived at a level space, where stood a hut, and tents of Turcomans; thence the road continued to wind round the base of the acropolis, till we reached the village of Germè at a quarter past ten.

Riding some little way beyond this, we left Milcom and Suleiman with the horses at a fountain, and, accompanied by our guide, mounted the steep hill of the acropolis. We had not ascended far before we came to a small but very fertile level space, belting the basement of the acropolis.

The ascent from hence was difficult, and it was some time before we discovered the road. The appearance of this stupendous acropolis was imposing in the extreme; of enormous height, with precipitous rocks, as if shaped by art. The city walls were seen all along the summit, as well as in various parts of the steep below, in all states of preservation, and of varied construction. Part of them was of very early date, the stones being large and polygonal; the others are for the most part of large squared stone; but there were some of small ones, evidently reparations of a much later date.

About midway up, we saw a beautiful little building, apparently a mausoleum, in the most perfect preservation. It was a small square room abutted against, and partly inserted into the rock, having a handsome doorway. On one of the side

walls were festoons between the heads of Isis, and on the other the same, with the caput bovis between the festoons.

We looked in vain for some inscription to inform us whose memory this beautiful edifice was intended to perpetuate. Nothing appeared upon the spot to convey the smallest information, and I was reminded of the prophet's appropriate words, "What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock?"*

I think there is another part of this chapter, the three last verses, that may be illustrated by a reference to ancient tombs. "I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and they shall hang upon him all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups, even to all the vessels of flagons."

"In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall the nail that is fastened in the sure place be removed, and be cut down, and fall; and the burden that was upon it shall be cut off: for the Lord hath spoken it."

* Isaiah xxii. 16.

If the *sure* place can be supposed to mean the sepulchre, or the treasury, and frequently, as in the sepulchres of the kings of Jerusalem, and the tombs of the kings of Pergamus, the sepulchres were converted into treasure houses, then the tombs in the island of Milo will be a happy illustration, within which I have myself seen *nails* fixed all round above the places where the bodies were deposited, and upon these nails were fixed "*vessels of small quantity*," vases of all forms and sizes.*

Ascending still, we indeed found a Roman sepulchral inscription:

Ἡ πατρὶς Τίτον Φλαυιανὸν Κλέωνα τὸν ἀξιολογωτατον.

"The most praiseworthy Titus Flavianus Cleon is honoured by his native city."

It is barely possible that this is the individual for whom this mausoleum was constructed; but there is no proof of it.

* The sepulchres of Suleiman, (see vol. i. p. 88,) resemble those of Milo, and from their immense number, the city might have been named Necropolis, "the city of the dead."

Soon after we entered the acropolis by the great gate, of which two massy arches and the side walls yet remain. On arriving within, we found immense masses of ruins spread over the whole of the space, but too numerous, too much covered by trees and underwood, and in too deranged a state, to enable us to form probable conjectures upon their original plan on so superficial a view.

The most striking objects, perhaps, were a fine gateway at a short distance in front, or rather to the right of the great gate. Within this gateway was an immense heap of finely-sculptured fragments, with numerous columns, apparently about twenty on either side; at six feet distance from each other.

At a little distance beyond, or to the east, though not exactly in the same line, a large wall with two arched recesses walled up. An immense souterrain, the arches communicating one with the other by low square openings just above the ground, lies at no great distance on the left-hand, and the large oblong space above it, with numerous fluted columns and Corinthian frag-ments, was no doubt the site of a superb tem-ple.

The theatre lies more to the right, much ruined, and about the size of that at Sagalassus. Amidst the heap of the proscenium, and in many other parts of the acropolis, were numerous pedestals, several with inscriptions, but perfectly illegible.

But perhaps the most striking edifice was a colonnade or portico on the left of the great gate of entrance. It was of enormous length; my notes say exceeding a ten minutes' walk, running parallel with the city wall at a short distance within, and having innumerable columns of granite, and apparently a pedestal between each column, with numerous doorways on both sides. The columns were all prostrate; the order here, too, seemed to be Corinthian.

Many of the pedestals had inscriptions, but a single letter or two that were legible, as

ΛΔΗ . . .

. . . . ΝΑΤΩΝ . . .

only served to tantalize us, and we could not find a single one that assisted in the remotest way to confirm our hopes that we were actually amidst the ruins of Selge.

Mr. Dethier, who took a different direction amidst the low trees from myself, says, he found the remains of another temple, of which fourteen columns were standing; and in another place, what he supposed to have been a triumphal arch.

In fact, immense quantities of ruins are spread about in all directions, but being concealed by the trees, it is difficult to get a sight of them. It is, however, clear that most of the buildings are Roman, and from the quantity of remains constructed with smaller stones, it is evident that in later times this has been a considerable town, perhaps low in the Bas empire.

We made the complete circuit of the acropolis, and were recompensed by a most magnificent view. The acropolis on three sides is a stupendous precipice, clothed beneath the rock with dense masses of pine-trees. On the fourth side it is also steep; but in this direction, though almost unnecessary, are the remains of an immense wall to defend the approach.

It was here I saw some sarcophagi lying about, broken and few in number. From the acropolis the view is of a character difficult to describe. We

saw the ravine through which we had missed our road yesterday, stretching down on the left, the immense naked rocks rising amidst the pine forest like clusters of round towers near it, and a little beyond, the rock on which stands the Chackall kalesi.

Nearly at right angles with this valley is the greater one, in which runs the Cestrus, the bed nearly dry, and parallel with it rise range after range of mountains, the most distant covered with snow. Through an opening in one of the ridges at its southern end, Mr. Dethier saw the *sea* and a plain. This must be between Adalia and Side. The terrace of Sagalassus was also visible, and the steep ridge above it.

We had finished our survey, but we were far from being satisfied; the day was wearing away, for it was three o'clock. Could we have remained another entire day, it is more than possible that by turning up the numerous pedestals of the portico, we might have found an inscription deciding the name of the city.

We had found important ruins of a city, with an acropolis, worthy to have been the acropolis of Selge. But we had no positive proof

that it was so. We saw numerous trees, of a kind we had never seen before, resembling in leaf the quince, and it might be the styrax; and certainly the iris, of different colours, particularly yellow, grows on the acropolis itself. But these are only collateral, and not positive proofs. Perhaps better may be drawn from ancient authors.

Selge, which was colonized by the Lacedemonians, was the most important and powerful city of Pisidia, in which province it was anciently placed, though by later authors in Pamphylia. The nature of the country, where it was situated, was so admirable, that though placed on the very heights of Taurus, the fertility of the soil was such as to be adequate to the support of many thousands of people.* Vineyards and olive-groves, and pasturage for every sort of cattle, were surrounded by forests of every kind of tree.

Selge was indebted greatly to the peculiar nature of its situation for the preservation of its independence. It is said to have been placed near the sources of the Cestrus and Eurymedon.

* Strabo says there was a time when the inhabitants were twenty thousand.

Strabo certainly says, that these rivers have their sources in the Selgian mountains, and that the territory of Selge is full of precipices, and torrents which flowed into these rivers, thereby rendering it very difficult of access.*

By this account it could not lie at any great distance on the east, or south-east of Sagalassus, where the Cestrus rises.

By the march of Alexander, it was clearly not far from the city of Termessus, or Telmissus; for his route was from Phaselis to Perga, thence to Side; from Side to Sylleum, and thence to Aspendus, a city of which the lofty acropolis was washed by the Eurymedon. From Aspendus he returned to Perga and to Termessus.

Now, as he was on his march from Perga to besiege Termessus, the Selgians sent to offer terms of peace. Afterwards he proceeded still northward to Sagalassus, described as a small

* Ἔχει δ' ὀλιγαις προσβάσεις περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Σελγέων, ορεινὴν κρημνῶν καὶ χαραδρῶν, οὖσαν πλήσιη, ἃς ποιοῦσιν ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ, καὶ ὁ Ευρυμέδων, καὶ Κέστρος, ἀπὸ τῶν Σελγεῶν ὀρῶν εἰς τὴν παμφυλίαν ἐκπίπτοντει θαλάσσαν —(Strabo, p. 571.)

Page 570 describes the situation and fertility of Selge, the styrax tree, and iris, &c.

city, whereas Selge is called μεγαλη πολις. It is clear that Selge, if not in the direct line of march from Termessus to Sagalassus, must have been at a short distance on the right of it.*

The Notitiæ place Selge in the *first* province of Pamphylia, that is, the most eastern, and include it among Side, Aspendus, Etenna, &c. This certainly removes it too far from Germè, which ought to be in the *second* province, the boundaries of which were the Lycian mountains on the west, nearly straight up at the left of Adalia, which city, with Perga, &c., were in the list of this *second* province, as was also, I believe, Termessus.

Polybius has a long account of a siege of Pednelissus, a city of Pisidia, by the Selgians; from this it appears that Selge lay to the *west* of that city, and, as we have seen, on the frontier, if not actually within, Pamphylia. †

* Arian, l. 28.

† The city of Pednelissus, which, as we have seen from Strabo, lay above Aspendus on the Eurymedon, was besieged by the Selgians.

"Achæus sent Garsyeres with an army to their assistance. The Selgians, apprized of his approach, occupy the passes called Climaks (τα στενα τα περι την καλουμενην Κλιμακα,)

A more circumstantial account is given by Zosimus, in describing the march of Tribigildus into Pamphylia.

"He resolved to march into Pamphylia, which borders on Pisidia. He there fell into difficult roads, through which his horse could not by any means pass. As no army resisted their progress, an inhabitant of Selge, (a small town of Pamphylia,) named Valentine, who possessed some learning, and was not inexpert in military affairs, collected a band of slaves and peasants, who had

and the approach to Saporda, (*την εισβολην την επι Σαπορδα.*) Garsyeres advances as far as Cretopolis in Mylias, and unable to penetrate farther, pretends to have abandoned the attempt, and appears to be in full retreat.

"The Selgians leaving the passes unguarded, retire to their city. Garsyeres immediately takes possession of them, and placing them under the charge of one of his officers, goes down to Perga, and having prevailed on some of the towns of Pisidia and Pamphylia to assist him with their troops, advances against Pednelissus. Subsequently, the Selgians being defeated, fled by the mountain route to their own city. Garsyeres follows them so closely, that he had passed the straits, (*δυσχωριας,*) and was close to the city before the inhabitants could make any preparations to resist him. The city is nearly betrayed by a man called Logbasis, but his treachery being discovered in time, the Selgians preserve their independence. A temple of Jupiter, called Cesbedium, was the acropolis, elevated above the city."—*Polybius*, lib. 5.

been accustomed to contend with the robbers in that quarter.

"These he posted on the hills above those places where Tribigildus had to march, so that they could see every one who passed that way, without being themselves seen, although the enemy should march past in open day. Tribigildus, and his barbarians, *choosing* the plainest way into the lower part of Pamphylia, and entering in the night into the fields under Selge, the barbarians suffered severely by stones of immense size thrown down upon them.

"They had no way of escape, there being on one side of the road *a deep lake and morasses*, and on the other side a steep, narrow passage, which would scarcely admit two men abreast. This ascent being round and winding, is by the natives called *the Snail*, from its similitude to that animal. In this were placed a sufficient number of men, under Florentius, to obstruct any who should attempt to pass through it.

"The barbarians being blocked up in this place, and great quantities of huge stones constantly thrown at them, they were almost all killed; since they were confined in so small a space,

that the stones which fell from above could not fail to kill some of them. Being therefore in great perplexity, most of them plunged with their horses into the lake, and, to avoid death by the stones, perished in the water.

"Tribigildus, however, with three hundred of his men, ascended the *snail*, when he bribed Florentius, and the guards who were with him, with a vast sum of money, to permit them to pass. Having by this means effected his escape, he suffered the remainder to be utterly destroyed.

"Although Tribigildus concluded that he had thus delivered himself from the danger which Valentine had brought on him, yet he presently fell into far greater peril than the former. Almost all the inhabitants of the *several towns*, arming themselves with whatever was in their reach, *inclosed* him, and the three hundred men who had escaped with him, *between* the rivers Melanes and Eurymedon, one of which runs above Side, and the other through Aspendus."*

It is clear, by this account, that Selge lay between the Cestrus and the Eurymedon, that, in escaping, Tribigildus crossed the latter river,

* Zosimus, book v. page 142.

and was then inclosed between it and the Melas. As no other river is mentioned between the Eurymedon and the Melas, this is additional proof of the accuracy of the Archbishop of Pisidia's information, of the Eurymedon dividing into two branches before it falls into the sea, the most eastern branch being the river without a name mentioned by Strabo.

Now as there was a *lake* near Selge, and as it lay *between* the Cestrus and Eurymedon, the ruins at Germè can scarcely be supposed to be those of that city. The lake, and the winding ascent called the *Snail*, would better correspond with the *lake* from which the Duden is said to issue; and being at a short distance to the east of the ruins considered to be those of Termessus, Selge might be thought to be connected with this lake, if the strong objection of its being on the east side of the Cestrus did not lie against it.

In my first journey, I hazarded the conjecture that Selge would probably be found in the triangle formed by Sagalassus, Eyerdir, and Isbarta. Built originally by the Lacedemonians, it seems from that circumstance to be connected with

Isbarta, pronounced now, and in the days of Lucas, Sparta. The numerous silver medals of Selge, which I have seen at Isbarta and Bourdour, seem to prove that Selge cannot be very remote.

Among other information that the good people of Debrè gave us, we were told that four leagues from Debrè, in the direction of Eyerdir, are considerable remains called Malek Kalesi, near which is a *lake*, with an island in it. If this be not a Seljukian fortress, like that at Eyerdir, it is probably an ancient Pisidian town; and if not too far north, the lake would support the conjecture that it might be Selge.

This site of Malek Kalesi agrees with the account I had from a Greek of Isbarta, that there were ruins, with a small lake, on a mountain at the east or south-east of Isbarta.

There are, however, stronger reasons for supposing the ruins at Germè to be those of the town of Cremna; and such is the opinion of the best authority on the subject, Colonel Leake, who thinks that even the name Germè may be only a corruption of Cremna.

Strabo says that Cremna had long been considered to be impregnable; but it was at length taken by Amyntas, with some other places, in his wars with the Pisidians. This fortress was afterwards considered of such military consequence by the Romans, that they established a colony there.*

Certainly, the stupendous acropolis of Germè, a terrific precipice on three sides, would agree well with the description of Cremna, which derives

* Ἀμύντας . . . πολλὰ χωρία ἐξεῖλαν ἀπόρθητα πρότερον ὄντα ὧν καὶ Κρήμνα. Το δὲ Σανδάλιον οὐδ' ἐνεχείρησε βία προσάγεσθαι, μεταξὺ κείμενον τῆς τε Κρήμνης καὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ. Τὴν μὲν οὖν Κρήμναν ἄποικοι Ρωμαίων ἔχουσι. Σαγαλασσὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ρωμαίων, οὗ καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντου Βασιλεία πᾶσα. διέχει δ' Ἀπαμείας ἡμέρας ὁδὸν, κατάβασιν ἔχουσα σχεδόν τι καὶ τριακοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ερυματος· καλουσι δ' αυτην και Σελγησσον.—Strabo, 569.

Οἱ Σελγεῖς οὗπερ εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν Πισιδῶν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρέον ἀυτῶν μέρος τὰι ἀκρωρείαι τοῦ Ταυρου κατέχει. τινὲς δε καὶ ὑπὲρ Σίδης καὶ Ἀσπένδου, Παμφυγικῶν πόλεων, κατέχουσι γεώλοφα χωρία, ἐλαιόφυτα παντὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὔτων ὀρεινὰ ἤδη, Κατεννεῖς, ὅμοροι Σελγεῦσι καὶ Ομοναδεῦσε.—Strabo, p. 569.

Τοῖς δ'ἔπι Πισιδέων λιπαρὸν πέδιον, ἦχι πόληες
Τερμισσὸς Λύρβη τε καὶ ἣ επολίσσατο λαὸς
Πρὶν ποτ' Αμυκλάιων; μεγαλώνυμος ἐν χθονι Σελγη.
Dionys. Per. v. 858.

its name from that very peculiarity of position; but it must be confessed that there is an objection to be overcome.

Strabo, in his account of the relative situation of Sagalassus and Cremna, is supposed to say, according to the French translation of Coray's Edition, "Cremna is in the present day occupied by a Roman colony; Sagalassus is under the same Roman officer who governs all the country heretofore belonging to king Amyntas; this city is at the distance of one day's journey from Apamea, and thirty stadia below the fortress" of *Cremna*.

If this be a correct translation, Cremna would clearly be on the north side of Sagalassus, and in that case, the remains we noticed between Sagalassus and Isbarta might be those of Cremna. But as Sagalassus is *more* than a day's journey from Apamea, I suspect something is omitted—and I can see no reason for making the word ερυματος apply to Cremna.

The longitudes and latitudes of Ptolemy are held in very light estimation; I would, however, request any one to look at the map, and now that the positions of Apamea, Apollonia, and

Antioch of Pisidia are established, let him compare them with the positions of Ptolemy, and see how nearly in relative position they approach the truth. Apamea is placed at 61. 10, and Antioch of Pisidia in 62. 30, making the distance between them eighty miles, and Strabo says it was seventy-five. Cremna is placed in 63, and 37. 50, and Apamea 61. 10, and 38. 56, or fifty-six miles to the south of Apamea. This, measured in direct distance, would be below Sagalassus, and exactly on the site of the ruins of Germè.

But the history of Zosimus again supplies us with additional evidence.

"There was an Isaurian named Lydius, who had been a robber from his youth, and with a gang like himself had committed depredations throughout Pamphylia and Lycia. This gang being attacked by the soldiers, Lydius not being able to oppose the whole Roman army, retreated to a place in Lycia, called Crymna, which stands on a precipice, and is secured on one side by large and deep ditches.

"Finding many who had fled there for refuge, and observing that the Romans were very intent

on the siege, and that they bore the fatigue of it with great resolution, he pulled down the houses, and making the ground fit for tillage, sowed corn for the maintenance of those that were in the town. But the number being so great that they were in need of much more provision, he turned out of the place all that were of no service, both male and female. The enemy perceiving his design, forced them back again; on which Lydius threw them headlong into the trenches that surrounded the walls, where they died.

"Having done this, he constructed a mine, from the town beyond the enemy's camp, through which he sent persons to steal cattle and other provisions. By these means he provided for the besieged a considerable time, until the affair was discovered to the enemy by a woman. Lydius, however, still did not despond; but gradually retrenched his men in their wine, and gave them a smaller allowance of corn. But this not answering the end, he was at length driven to such straits, that he killed all that were in the town, except a few of his adherents, sufficient as he thought to defend it.

"But when he had resolved to persevere against

all dangers, there happened at length this accident. There was with him, in the town, a man who was expert in making engines, and in using them with such dexterity, that when Lydius ordered him to shoot a dart at any of the enemy, he never missed his aim. It happened that Lydius had ordered him to hit a particular person, when either accidentally, or on purpose, he missed, for which he stripped and scourged him severely, and moreover, threatened him with death.

"The man was so exasperated on account of the blows he had received, and so affrighted at the menaces, that he took an opportunity to steal out of the town; and falling in with some soldiers, to whom he gave an account of his actions and sufferings, he showed them an aperture in the wall, through which Lydius used to inspect all that was done in their camp, and promised them to shoot him as he was looking through it in his usual manner.

"The commander of the expedition on this took the man into favour, who, having planted his engine, and placed some men before him that he might not be discovered by the enemy, took aim at Lydius as he looked through the aperture, and

with a dart shot him and gave him a mortal wound. He had no sooner received this wound, than he became still more strict with some of his own men. Having enjoined them upon oath never to surrender the place, he expired with much struggling."*

In this relation Crymna is said to be in Lycia, whereas clearly the ruins of Germè, if not in Pamphylia, are on its frontier. But this is of little consequence, for Crymna and Cremna are clearly the same places, and perhaps the mistake of Zosimus arose from Lycia being placed, at the time he wrote, and long previous, under the proconsul of Pamphylia.

There is still a considerable difficulty in understanding to what the passage of Strabo, "this city is about thirty stadia lower down than the fortress," refers. If by the city is meant Sagalassus, as there can be little doubt, either the fortress cannot be Cremna, or the ruins at Germè are not the ruins of that place—for instead of thirty stadia, that is, near four miles, the distance is at least fifteen miles.

Again, Sandalium, another fortress of consi-

* Hist. of Zosimus, book i. p. 33.

derable strength, because Amyntas did not attempt to take it, was said to lie *between* Sagalassus and Cremna. Now, if these two cities were only at the short distance of thirty stadia from each other, it is hardly conceivable that Sandalium should be between them; but if Cremna be rearly at Germè, perhaps the *castle* on the mountain behind Issar-keuy may be Sandalium.

What the ancient name of Chackall-kalesè may have been, I will not venture to conjecture.

If, after all, the ruins of Germè should not be those of Cremna, they will be probably those of Cormasa, Isionda or Cretopolis.

Cremna was placed among the dioceses in the *second* province of Pamphylia, which is certainly in favour of its position at Germè. The only bishop whose name has been preserved is *Theodorus*.

CHAPTER IV.

Descent from the Acropolis of Germè—Road to, and arrival at, the Cassaba of Bujak—Motive for Turkish hospitality—Probable situation of Perga, Lystra, and Derbe—Leave Bujak—Pilgrims from the Crimea—Arrival at Bourdour—Zeal for education among Greeks and Turks—Ancient city, whether Lysinoe or Cretopolis—Rev. Joseph Wolff—Road from Aglason to Bourdour, and description of the town.

Our good friend Kyriacos declaring that he had seen quite enough old stones to satisfy his antiquarian appetite, had long ago separated from us. At three o'clock, Mr. Dethier and I having in vain strained our lungs in calling for him and the guide, in every possible direction, began our descent from the acropolis. We were in doubt about the road, and in greater about finding our horses; but with the direction of another kind Turcoman we regained the road near Germè, but our horses were no longer at the fountain.

Concluding they had advanced on the road to

Bujak, we proceeded, seeing close on our left a square edifice of large uncemented blocks, which we had no time to examine accurately. We had no means of ascertaining if our horses had preceded us, but by tracing the marks of their feet, not an easy matter in a stony and dry road.

We were employed in this way for some time, when an old Turk told us there were some horses before us. We quickened our pace, and had the good fortune to find our party, including Kyriacos, comfortably seated near a fountain. The guide had long set out for Debrè, dissatisfied to have been kept so long without his dinner.

We had still two hours and a half to Bujak; (or Bujah;) it was half past four o'clock; and we were, without a guide, among the hauteurs of Mount Taurus; but there was no alternative, and therefore nothing very bold in the determination to proceed.

For the first hour, the road was a *broken rock* through pine forests as before. Afterwards it improved, but soon grew too dark to judge of it, though the wheel track of *Arabahs* showed that it was not only a passable road, but one which led to some human habitation.

As it was an almost continued descent, I scarcely mounted my horse all the way from the fountain, and we were all calculating upon the best mode of passing the night under a pine tree, when the lights of the Cassaba of Bujak burst suddenly upon us, and cheered us all so much, that Milcom and Suleiman called out for a *backshish.* We were soon there, arriving at half-past six; and were lodged in an oda, favoured with the society of some excellent, kind-hearted, unobtrusive Turks. A wheat pilau, and hard eggs, followed by a partridge, shot by Mr. Dethier, soon restored us.

It would be both ungrateful and unjust to detract in the remotest manner from the noble charity to which the way-worn, destitute, and fainting traveller is indebted so much in every town and village of Asia Minor; and therefore it is with no other object than to relieve the dryness of a travelling journal, that I venture to say the Turks have another motive for their hospitality,

According to a very ancient and generally received tradition, too firmly established in the mind of every good Mussulman to be doubted for a

moment, the arrival of every stranger under his roof brings *nine* good fortunes to the proprietor and his family. Of these, the stranger is supposed to devour one, but eight still remain for the good of the oda.

We, being five in number, of course were the welcome bearers of forty-five good fortunes;—and admitting that, as our appetites were excellent, we did ample justice to five, forty still are the riches of the oda bashi. It is no wonder, then, that we and our host were the best possible friends.

Bujak is still a considerable village, or rather a small town, but formerly had one thousand houses. It is divided, part being on the mountain side, and the larger part in the plain with four mosques. The distances were, from Adalia eighteen hours, Isbarta eight, Aglason four, Bourdour eight, and Sousou one and a half.

So near Adalia, (Satalia,) I would willingly have gone there, examined the ruins of Perga, and returned by the southern coast through Lycia to Smyrna. The temptation was strong, almost irresistible; but here the prudence of my

good friend Dethier again opposed successful objections.

It was true, that a week more or less was not a great extension of time; but an additional week in this season might bring on the winter floods, and how get over the deluged plains after they fell? Again, the Egyptian army, and the sultan's troops, might not always be so agreeable to travellers as when in the barrack of Isbarta.

It was, however, some consolation to know that if we did not visit the ruins of Perga, yet their situation is placed beyond doubt, by Colonel Leake's account of the ruins seen by General Koehler, on the Cestrus, west of Stavros.

Perga is described by Strabo as being on the banks of the river Cestrus, which was navigable as far as that city, though at the distance of sixty stades or seven miles and half from the sea. By the expression in the account of St. Paul's voyage, "when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia," it would seem that they landed at or near the city; but the entrance of the river has long been impass-

able, being at present closed by a *bar*. Near Perga, in a lofty situation, was the temple of Diana Pergæa, where a religious assembly was held every year.

When General Koehler was coming from Stavros to Adalia, at the end of the first two hours, and four hours from Adalia, he crossed a large and rapid stream, (the Cestrus,) by a ferry, a little beyond which, appeared on the left, the ruins called by the Turks, Eski-kalesi, where are great remains of walls and vaulted buildings. These are considered by Colonel Leake to be the ruins of Perga, agreeing with Strabo's description of its position on the Cestrus, and distance from the sea.

Perga is mentioned in the Notitiæ, and as the metropolis of Pamphylia. In the tabular itinerary, there is a road from Laodicea to Perga, by Themisonium and Cormasa, which will be hereafter noticed. It was at Perga that John, surnamed Mark, withdrew himself from Paul and Barnabas, and returned to Jerusalem, occasioning thereby the subsequent separation between those apostles.*

* Acts xiii. 13, and xv. 39.

The two other towns, the scenes of St. Paul's labours and persecution, Lystra and Derbe, may be also considered as nearly discovered, if not actually so.

The following extract from the journal of Colonel Leake, will show what was the opinion of that eminent geographer.

"Derbe and Lystra have been immortalised by the sacred writer of the Acts of the Apostles. About the middle of the century preceding the birth of Christ, Derbe was the residence of an independent chief, or robber, as Strabo calls him, named Antipatrus, who possessed also Laranda. Antipatrus having been slain by Amyntas, king of Galatia, Derbe fell into the power of the latter, who had already received Isauria from the Romans, upon its reduction by Servilius."

Amyntas conquered all Pisidia, as far as Apollonias, near Apamea Cibotus; but having fallen in fighting with the Homonadenses, his dominions devolved to the Romans; who having not long afterwards succeeded also to those of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, made a new distribution of these provinces, in which Derbe, was the *wes-*

tern extremity of the Cilician prefecture of Cappadocia.

Strabo, from whom we learn most of the preceding facts, observes in another place, that Derbe was on the Isaurian frontier of Cappadocia. But it must also have been on the frontier of Lycaonia; for about the same time St. Luke calls both Derbe and Lystra cities of Lycaonia. About a century afterwards, we find that Derbe had been separated from the Cilician prefecture of Cappadocia, and that it formed, together with Laranda and the adjacent part of Mount Taurus, which contained Olbasa, a separate district called Antiochiana; which Ptolemy places between Lycaonia and the Tyanitis.

From all the circumstances, there seems no doubt that Derbe stood in the great Lycaonian plain, not far from the Cilician Taurus, on the Cappadocian side of Laranda; a situation precisely agreeing with that of the ruins called the thousand and one churches of Mount Kara-dagh. These ruins have never been visited, or at least described, by any modern traveller; it is impossible, therefore, to say, whether there be any *lake* near these ruins, which will support the conjecture,

that the word λιμὴν, used by Stephanus in speaking of Derbe, may be altered into λίμνη; for without this change, the word can have no meaning.

"Lystra appears to have been nearer than Derbe to Iconium; for St. Paul, leaving that city, proceeds first to Lystra, and from thence to Derbe; and in like manner returns to Lystra, to Iconium, and to Antiochia of Pisidia. And this seems to agree with the arrangement of Ptolemy, who places Lystra in Isauria, and near Isaura, which seems evidently to have occupied some part of the valley of Sidy-sher, or Bey-sher.

"Under the Greek empire, Homonades, Isaura, and Lystra, as well as Derbe and Laranda, were all in consular province and Lycaonia, and were bishopricks of the metropolitan see of Iconium. The similarity of name induced me at first to believe that Lystra was situated at the modern Illisera; but we find, as well in the civil arrangement of the cities in Hierocles, as in two ecclesiastical lists in the Notitiæ Episcopatuum, that Lystra and Ilistra were distinct places. I am inclined to think that the vestiges of Lystra may be sought for with the greatest probability

of success at or near Wiran Khatown, or Khatown Serai, about thirty miles southward of Iconium." *

Since the publication of Colonel Leake's valuable work, the ruins called Bin bir Kilisa, "the thousand and one churches," supposed by Colonel Leake to be the site of Derbe, have been visited by Count Laborde and Dr. Hall; and, on examination, the supposition was considered altogether unfounded. If such was the opinion of the latter gentleman, than whom no one is more competent to decide the question, we must look for Derbe elsewhere.

It must be admitted, that in every inquiry of this nature, the tradition of the church should have great weight; and in the account of the Αρχισατραπια of Iconium by the patriarch Cyril, Derbe is *positively* said to be on the mountain slope beyond Derbent Bogaz, nine hours from Iconium, and that the ruins are actually yet in existence in that place.†

* Colonel Leake's Journal, page 101.

† Τὸ Μπάσαρα χωρίον πέντε ὥρας ἀφιστάμενον τοῦ Ἰκονιου, δύω ὥρας ἔμπροσθεν, ἔν χάνι ἐρέιπιον ἐις τὸ στόμιον τῶν Δερβὲντ πογαζί καὶ ἔτι δύω ὥρας τὸ χωρίον Δερβέντι, ἄνω ἐις

We have not equally good grounds for fixing the situation of Lystra, but there is some reason for believing that the remains at Kara hissar, near the lake Bey sher, mentioned in the Itinerary of Jacoub Bey, may be those of that place, should they not be where Colonel Leake supposes, at Wiran Khatown, or Khatown Serai.

Saturday, Nov. 17.—The son of the oda bashi, a fine, active, attentive little lad, came into our apartment long before day, and lighted the fire, disturbing our slumbers, and almost roasting and suffocating me, as my bed was close to the chimney. Mr. Dethier rose before us, and returned at breakfast with a couple of woodcocks. Having prescribed for our kind host's wife and four children, we mounted our horses at ten minutes after nine. The road led through a plain, in a north direction.

τὴν ὀφρῦν τοῦ ὄρους εἶναι τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς πάλαι Δέρβης λεγομένης πόλεως.

If these are not really the ruins of the Derbe of St. Paul, it may possibly have stood at a place, in Major Rennel's Map, called Olu Dervine, between Erekli and Karabunar; and a *lake*, at no great distance, called Ghioul Bashi, adds plausibility to the conjecture.

We saw some tombs in the rocks on the right,* and at ten minutes before ten, crossed a river, the ground soon after on a gentle ascent. A mill lay on the right, and the river, the Agasderesi-chay, flowed along the road side, with the stream towards the south. We remained at another mill till twenty-five minutes before eleven, while Mr. Dethier went in pursuit of the wild ducks, with which the place abounded.

Here we discovered that, thanks to Suleiman, whose head was not a geographical one, we were out of the road; but we soon regained it, and at eleven o'clock crossed a bridge, near which, on the left, are small remains of an old wall. We are now in another plain, and, at ten minutes after twelve, arrived at Tshaltighi, the river lying again along the road at the left.

This is the village mentioned in the journal of General Koehler, who says, "the people appeared simple and hospitable, and welcomed the travellers by presents of fruit and flowers, which they threw down at their feet, and then departed

* These are on the steep side of a high mountain, and evidence that some town was probably on the summit, or at the back of it. Could this have been Cormasa or Isionda?

without saying a word." We did not enter the village, and therefore had not the same attentions shown to us. Very soon after, the village of Utch-keuy, (three villages,) lay a little on the left. At one o'clock we left the plain, and ascended the mountain.

We had been for some time past on the great road from Constantinople to Adalia: we had now a proof of it; for we met a man of extraordinary mien and costume, walking with a long straight sword in a case, which served him both for *bâton* and *epée*. He wore a round twisted turban, differing from any I had seen. A few minutes after, followed a numerous party on horseback, all bearing a national peculiarity of visage and mien, which was neither Turkish nor European. They were Turks from the Crimea, going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.*

At a quarter before two, having ascended considerably, we came to a plain or plateau; and,

* In default of male issue of the reigning family at Constantinople, the person next in immediate succession, is the sultan of the Tartars, who has long embraced Christianity, the sultaness being a lady from Scotland. A *Christian* on the throne of Mahomet! Should such an event take place, we shall have no more pilgrimages to Mecca.

at two o'clock stopped to refresh ourselves and horses, at the spot where a source passes through a hole under the mountain,—the source, doubtless, or one of them, of the river we have seen to-day.*

We mounted again at half-past two, and the road leading over a plain, nearly north, it was joined, at a quarter before four, by the road on the right, leading from Aglason. The cold became painful, and the night surprised us as we passed, in the valley, the village of Cornar.

We travelled over a bad road, crossing the river again, and again, and again, almost in perfect darkness, except when occasional flashes of lightning (in a clear atmosphere without clouds) showed us the extraordinary formation of the sand hills, or petrified lands, through which we

* Perhaps the Agas derisi-chay is the river called, by the Consul Manlius, the Colobatus, after passing the sources of the Lyses, where he received the deputation from the neighbouring town of Isionda. The subterranean course of the stream seems to be alluded to in the word *Colobatus,* and offers some plausibility for identifying the Agas derisi-chay with the Duden or Catarractes, supposing it to be subterranean in its course from Karabonar till it re-issues from the *lake* below.

passed. General Koehler compared them to enormous sand-pits; and, in my first journey, they reminded me strongly of an ancient mine in Cornwall, called Cargleaze,—not a shaft mine, but an open one, resembling a quarry of immense size.

It was half-past six when we arrived at Bourdour. The night, though our beds were doubly covered, excessively cold. My friend, Dr. Anastasius, was on a medical tour in the country, and I presume his tin case of pills, and enormous stag's horn, accompanied him as a matter of course.

Sunday, Nov. 18.—While Mr. Dethier went to take a view of the extraordinary *hauteurs* about the town, Kyriacos, having bought some kid, and carried it to the kabobji to be baked, walked with me to the Greek quarter, and we first paid our respects to the house of the papas. He was not at home, but we found his mother, a very old, infirm woman, and, though on a Sunday, nearly in rags.

She showed us the church, plentifully supplied with paintings, of which the birth and death of the *Panagia*, the patroness of the church, were

among the most conspicuous. The *Thauma,* or miracles of St. Michael the Archangel at Chonas, (Colossæ,) held also a distinguished place. There were some marble capitals, perhaps of the earliest times of the Bas empire, placed as pedestals to the columns.

Mr. Balli, of Isbarta, had given us a letter for a respectable Greek merchant. We called upon him, and found the two priests, and some of the principal Greeks of Bourdour. Inquiring if there was a school, we were told that there were two; one Ellenic, but discontinued for some years from the want of a proper master; the other, a school of *mutuel enseignment,* supported by the person we were now visiting, his father having endowed it, and left it in charge to the son.

The young priest was the master; the number of scholars about eighty. We saw the school-room, well fitted up, and provided on the walls with a set of printed tables. As they were altogether without school books, I promised to send some from Smyrna, with a few Testaments, Greek and Turkish.*

* Volumes have been written on the question, whether Dr. Bell, or Mr. Lancaster, is to have the honour of the inven-

Our last visit was to a very respectable and well-informed young man, the son of the Archbishop of Pisidia, who had married the sister of the person we had visited. His little girl was ill, after an unsuccessful inoculation, and we prepared some medicines for her, and for the four children of our other friend, suffering much from the hooping-cough.

Intellect is marching even at Bourdour. Education seems to be much more general here than elsewhere; numerous Turks being employed on their shop-boards in teaching young men to write.

The Greek priest told me, my former calculation of four thousand Turkish houses was too small; that there are between five and six thousand. The fountains, without number, reminded me of Isbarta, and gave an amiable picture of Turkish charity. Returning from the Greek quarter, Kyriacos admired, with me, a very long

tion of the system of *mutuel enseignment*. It is, perhaps, not generally known, if known at all, that this system was actually in use at the great seat of ancient learning, Athens, one hundred and fifty years ago, as may be seen by referring to a small volume, in French, called "Athenes Ancienne et Moderne." I have left it in Smyrna, and can neither recollect the author's name, nor the exact date.

avenue of large willow trees; not a very picturesque tree in England, but here, from its growth and numbers, producing a very pleasing effect. The vineyards are very extensive, and the wine, made of course only by the Greeks, excellent.

We were told that the *ancient* site of the city was among the *vineyards*, and that, at a village one hour and a half on the road to Isbarta, there are tombs in the rocks, and other remains. Lucas says he saw considerable remains among the vineyards, and particularly mentions a temple nearly buried, as if by earthquake.*

If Bourdour really occupies the site of Lysinoe, it is extraordinary that no *medals* of that city should be found there, or rather brought from

* "Les gens du pays assurent qu'elle étoit dix fois plus grande, et qu'elle s'appelloit *Caragacia;* et on n'a pas de peine à le croire lorsqu'on sort à la campagne, ou l'on trouve plusieurs ruines dans les vignes qui sont aux environs; j'y vis un temple presque entier; mais qui est si enfoncé dans la terre, qu'on n'y peut entrer que par les fenêtres, et un autre ou il n'y a que la voûte qui paroit. Il y a grand apparence que cette ville a été detruite par quelque tremblement de terre, ou, selon la tradition du pays, par un deluge d'eau, qui submergea cette ville, et l'entraina dans le lac, ou l'on voit encore des ruines."—*Lucas's Travels*, vol. i. page 245.

thence, a place of such importance, and such a thoroughfare. But the medals usually brought from that neighbourhood, especially from Isbarta, are principally of Selge, Perga, Side, Sagalassus, Isionda, Termessus, and sometimes Claudiopolis, Baris, and a medal with KPH, Cremna, or Cretopolis.

Though the finding the medals on a particular spot is not positive evidence that the city to which they belonged actually stood on that site, yet the *total absence* of such medals is more than negative proof, that a place has been wrongly appropriated. It is singular that no medals have yet been found of Lysinoe, Cormasa, and several other places in the march of the Consul Manlius; and it was but very recently that my friend Mr. Borell met with medals of Bubon and Balbura.

To suppose that Bourdour is the modern representative of the ancient city of Lysinoe, certainly does seem irreconcileable with the march of the Consul Manlius. He was on his march upwards from Pamphylia; and when *he had passed the lake*, the authorities from Lysinoe surrendered the city. Now, surely, if by this *lake* is to be understood the lake of Bourdour, he would not

have passed this important place without compelling its surrender.

If Bourdour be not Lysinoe, it is probably Cretopolis; and the medals with the letters KPH, which I have seen both there and at Isbarta, probably belong to that city.

The Archbishop of Pisidia, in whose diocese Bourdour lies, writes the name Bouldour, and he is more likely to be correct; and a letter which I received three years since from a person not so high in the church as an archbishop, but probably much more known than many archbishops, writes also Bouldour. This is the Rev. Joseph Wolff, to whose devotedness of heart and soul to the great object of his many journeyings I bear ready testimony, though not always to the correctness of his judgment.

At the time to which I have alluded, he had embarked at Alexandria for the coast of Syria; but the master of the vessel having learnt that the plague was raging there, refused to proceed. Mr. Wolff was landed at Adalia, thence to find his way as he best could, either by land to Jerusalem, or Constantinople.

He determined on the latter; but his letters

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of credit were not negotiable at Adalia, where there were no Europeans; and how was he to perform such a journey without a sixpence—without a horse—without a guide? His letter to me describes his situation. He had contrived to reach Bouldour, and he was resolved, *Deo volente*, to get to Constantinople: and arrive there he did; and shortly after set out on the extraordinary journey to Bokhara, &c., from which he is recently returned!

At my first visit to Bourdour, or Bouldour, in 1826, I came from Aglason. I subjoin my notes of that journey, and some observations on the town.

"Before Aglason lies a small plain, almost encircled by mountains, and full of walnut and other trees. Our route was at first north-west by north; at half-past eight we came to a mill with a village on our right, on the slope of the mountain. At a quarter before nine, having passed through a small but beautiful grove of walnuts supporting vines, poplars, &c., we crossed a river flowing down from the right; and in a few minutes crossed another stream, flowing in the same direction. We had now reached the

head of the plain, and entered a defile between the mountains; course as before; a strong stream rushes down with much noise through this defile. At a quarter past nine crossed this stream and turned to the left, another stream being by the road's side, which united below with the first. The mountains on both sides were high and steep, ornamented with low shrubs resembling cedars of dwarfish size. Our course was now west; and at a quarter before ten we began to descend by a road narrow and rocky. Near the bottom, a considerable body of water gushed out from under the mountain on the right; and a little below on the left was a small level spot, on which were heaps of squared stones. Our road soon lay along the hill side, having a narrow plain on the left; and at half past ten a village, with vestiges of ancient remains, lay on the right; while a small river flowed along the narrow plain on the left. At eleven o'clock, our course west-north-west, we came to a village on the right called Cheenay. At a quarter past eleven, the plain which had been hitherto parallel with our road terminated, or rather united with another much wider and more extensive, at right angles.

Our road through this plain was due north. A mountain of remarkable form, which might be called a saddleback mountain, partly covered with snow, formed part of the boundary of the plain on the left. At twenty minutes after twelve we crossed a considerable river, and near it an old burial-ground with fragments much decayed. A few minutes after arrived at the end of the plain, and began to descend steeply; the remains of an ancient paved road lay on the right, and at a short distance below it a village with some remains. We had no time to examine them, nor to ascertain how far they might agree in situation with the town of Lysinoe and the river Lyses. Turning to the left, our course was again west, and we almost immediately crossed the same stream by a bridge near a spot of green turf as soft as velvet, on which many poor Turks, who had a long string of asses loaded with charcoal and wood for the town of Bourdour, were performing their ablutions and prayers. In a Mahometan country, how often will the traveller be put to the blush by contrasting his own indifference, if not total neglect, of religious duty with the piety of the Turk, who, be he where he

may, and employed as he may, instantly abstracts himself from the world, at the stated hours of prayer, to fall upon his knees. Our road now lay along the mountain side, and the same river continued to flow downwards on the left, and at one o'clock it fell in a sheet over an ancient wall. The rocks, or rather immense hills, for there was little or no stone, were all calcareous, and of a dirty white—their forms reminded me strongly of Cargleaze tin mine in Cornwall; not a shaft mine, but an open one, resembling a quarry of immense size.*

"The scene was desolate in the extreme; not the smallest vestige of vegetation, either grass or tree, was to be seen on these immense hills which rose on every side; and the half moon appearing over them just at the moment, seemed an emblem of the withering and blasting influence of the Turkish crescent over these once christian countries. After crossing a bridge over the same river, and our course north-west by north, we entered the town of Bourdour at half past one,

* "Hereabout Mr. A.'s route joins that of General Koehler, who compared the same scene to 'enormous sand pits.'"—*Note by Col. Leake.*

and were agreeably surprised to see beautiful gardens and rich vineyards, elegant minarets, &c. and a very large and populous town, beyond which lay the lake, of a beautiful blue colour.

"Bourdour (or Burdur) is said to contain four thousand Turkish houses, one hundred and fifty Greek, and thirty Armenian; the bazaars were crowded, and it appeared to be a place of considerable trade. From Colonel Leake we learn that tanning and dyeing of leather, weaving and bleaching of linen, employ the chief part of the population. The wine of Bourdour appeared to us to be peculiarly fine. It was not very unlike Frontigniac, and it derives its excellence, no doubt, from the extraordinary soil about the town. I saw a few medals; they were all of Selge and Perga; while examining them, I was surprised to be addressed by a Turk in bad English and good Italian. He afterwards paid us a visit at the khan, when I found he was a slave-proprietor, conducting about a dozen males and females, then in an adjoining apartment, to Constantinople for sale. He told us he came from Egypt, but that these unhappy victims were from Barbary; their colour, however, bespoke

them natives of the interior of Africa; and the man admitted, that not unfrequently he had slaves from even beyond Timbuctoo. The price in Egypt was from sixty to seventy dollars; while at Constantinople it varied from fifteen hundred to two thousand piastres; that is, at the present exchange, from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and seventy dollars. They had been landed at Kakava, to the westward of Satalia; and had been ten days in performing the journey to Bourdour, part of the road lying over immense mountains covered with snow. We learnt that Memet Ali had a regular and constant communication with Constantinople by the same route; his dispatches being first conveyed by packet vessels to Kakava. A traffic in human flesh is in any shape so revolting to the feelings of an Englishman, that he can scarcely think of it without strong irritation; and yet, after all, the slave of a Turk has many advantages of situation above that of a Christian. I must be understood to mean slaves such as those we saw at Bourdour, professing the same faith. Like the year of jubilee among the Jews, the seventh year releases the captive, and the purchase is always

made upon that express condition—a condition also enforced by the Koran. A Christian is not permitted to purchase a Mahometan slave, at least not at Constantinople or Smyrna, though it is a frequent practice at Alexandria and Cairo.

"We had a narrow escape this afternoon. A well-dressed Turk paid us a visit, introduced by a Greek professor of medicine. We discovered the nature of his disorder just in time to avoid a fellow suffering, and as it does not bear the most reputable character in genteel society, we had great reason to be thankful.

"The Greek doctor requested me to accompany him to his shop, an apartment in the khan well filled with bottles and other evidences of the profound science of the professor. He candidly admitted that he knew no more of medicine than he had learnt from an old tattered Greek pharmacopœia; that the bottles were more for show than use; and his grand catholicon was a pill, producing at the same moment a tin case containing at least two okes (five pounds) of pills. They were not, however, like the doctor's at Tocat, covered with gold-leaf; but, if not composed of bread and water, they were quite as

unlikely to be of any service. I ventured to suggest sulphur as the best remedy for his unfortunate patient, but he would hear of nothing but his pills, and perhaps he was right: sulphur was not always to be had; but he might say, and in effect did reply to me, in the words of the doctor of Tocat to Hadji Baba, 'as long as there is bread and water to be had, I am never at a loss for a pill. I perform all my cures with them, accompanied by the words Inshallah and Mashallah.'

"There was, however, another genuine and primitive medicine in his shop, which I should do him an injustice if I neglected to mention. It was hartshorn, that is to say, an enormous stag's horn, which he powdered and gave in substance."

Lysinia is placed in the province of Pamphylia, another argument against its position at Bourdour.

In the Oriens Christianus are the names of two bishops.

Apagamius.

Eugenius.

CHAPTER V.

Leave Bourdour—Lose our way—Arrive at Yazakeuy—Genealogical enigma—Turkish honesty—Lake of Navlo—Village of Yarislee, the ancient town of Lagon—Inscriptions—Illustrations of the camel passing through the eye of a needle, and of Exodus xxii. 26.—Lady Hesther Stanhope—Arrive at Kaiadevè (Mandropolis)—Adventure with a Cafidji—The lake Caralis, and observations on salt lakes—Plain of Kara-uke—Arrive at Kai-issar—The oda bashi—Ancient city of Themisonium.

It was twenty minutes before three when we quitted Bourdour. We rode along the lake, being first at a little distance only, then nearly close to the water, and afterwards diverging again. On the east side of Bourdour the lake extends probably a league. It began to get dusk, and from dusk nearly dark. It was then, that not quite sure of the proper turning to Yazakeuy, I referred the question to Milcom. He had led me out of the road at the same spot on my first

journey, and in order to free himself from all responsibility on the present occasion, declared, with a candour quite unusual, that he did not recollect to have seen the road or even the lake before, though the latter was at least sixteen miles long. We wandered on in uncertainty, now and then trying to the right and the left as good pioneers, to avoid getting into the marshes and ditches, till at length we saw a light at some distance a head of us. It did not appear as stationary as we could have wished, and it might be an *ignis fatuus*, or if not, a Euruke's fire; still we followed it, crossing the river by bridges twice or thrice; at length, another light appeared, and the barking of dogs, Dr. Chandler's terror, but our great consolation, announced the neighbourhood of a village. It proved to be the right one; and we arrived at Yazakeuy, a little after six, and were comfortably settled in a snug oda, with a good fire, most cheering to frozen toes and fingers. The master of the oda, for the first time on our journey, slept in the apartment with us.

Monday, Nov. 19.—As we had been just a month from Smyrna to day, and fortunately accomplished the principal objects of our journey,

we determined to return without further loss of time. The most direct road to Denizli was by Atchekeuy, but as I had already passed that way, and by the upper road of Chardak, we agreed to take an under or more southern road which we were assured was as near and direct as that by Atchekeuy.

There were two objects which determined us to do so. The possible discovery of the ancient city of Themisonium; and the examination of the country on the southern side of Chonas, in order to ascertain possitively that the emplacement of Colossæ was really at that place.

Mr. Dethier rose before six, excited by the promises of an old chasseur last night to conduct him to a part of the lake where wild geese, tadornes, and woodcocks, were in such abundance, that we might with ease kill enough before breakfast to load another baggage horse. The old gentleman failed in his engagement, and Mr. Dethier, after two hours, returned without either goose, tadorne, or woodcock, and yet my friend was the best shot in Smyrna. *

* " On y trouvent beaucoup d'oiseaux aussi gros que des oyes, et si gras qu'ils ne scauroient voler; ils se laissent tuer

The water all round the oda was frozen, and the ground whitened with a hoar frost. We quitted Yazakeuy at nine o'clock, and arrived at Yarikeuy at a quarter past nine. Here we copied an inscription in the burial-ground.

Κλαυδίας Πελαγίας τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ μνημειόυ Πρόνοιαν ποιησαμένου Καλλικλέους δὶς υιοῦ γενομένου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς.

(The monument) of Claudia Pelagia, constructed by Callicles, who was doubly the son of her husband, i. e.

His father married Pelagia, after which he (Callicles) married the daughter of Pelagia by a former husband. I am indebted to Colonel Leake for a solution of this genealogical enigma, which I should never have discovered myself.

Very soon after we had another evidence of the redeeming qualities in the Turkish character. Mr. Dethier had exchanged horses with me, and my cloak, which was strapped behind the saddle,

a coups de baton. On fait de leur graisse une mantique, dont les pauvres gens se servent au lieu de beurre fondu."

Lucas's Travels, vol. i. p. 244.

These birds are the Tadorne ducks.

slipped off unobserved. Suleiman went back in pursuit of it, and found it suspended from a tree across the road. A Turk had found it, and took this simple honest way of restoring it to its owner. Many a Christian would not have done so.

Our course, which had been west from Bourdour to Yazakeuy, was now west-south-west. At half past ten we saw a sarcophagus by the road side on the right, and on the left, at some little distance, lay the village of Douvare. Looking back, and to the left, the extraordinary formation of the ground about Bourdour was seen to a great extent stretching away to the south.

Mr. Dethier's supposition is, that these hills were once under the waters of the lake; that the lake sunk, and that the hills were shaped as at present by the continued action of rain, &c., for ages. This is curiously in correspondence with the tradition of the country which Lucas heard at Bourdour.

The road was still in a plain, with a rocky ridge on the right, and at eleven o'clock another ridge on the left, which, with the adjoining mountain, resembled Coresus and Mount Prion

at Ephesus, as seen from Aiasaluk. A tumulus lay near it. At a quarter past eleven, we passed a small lake on the left, called Navlo Ghiul.

In the village of Yarislee, where we arrived at twelve o'clock, we were detained till one, and had time permitted, we would willingly have remained much longer, as we found several interesting inscriptions on the fountain and in the mosque, and might have found many more. The villagers, with their Aga at the head, escorted us from place to place, and pressed us much to visit the remains of a castle and other ruins on the mountain above the village; the site, no doubt, of the ancient town, from whence the inscribed stones were brought. They told us also, that great quantities of marble were visible under water in the lake.

The subjoined inscription is on a square pedestal in the court of the mosque, and one part being against the wall, of course it is imperfect It appears to consist of moral maxims; and here again, as in the following inscription, I have to acknowledge my obligations to Colonel Leake for the restoration and translation.

Νῦν τοὶ πάντα τέλει δαίμων νυν ἐς ὀρθὲν ὀδήγει
Πράξεις πάντα κατὰ νοῦν μηκέτι τρύχε σεαὐτόν
Επιτεύξη συ τε ἀμέμπτως ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμεῖς
Ὅσα θέλεις πράξεις, εἰ ρῆσεις . . . .
Ἐν χειρὶ ξένε θαρσήσας παντὸς . . . .
Ἥσυχα βουλεύου καὶ σοὶ θεὸς ἡγεμονεύσει.

Εἶσι καλαὶ πράξεις σπεύδε σὲ χρη
Κρατήσεις καὶ τοὺ ἀλώμενον εν ξενίη
Ἐκφεύξη γὰρ νούσου χαλεπῆς πάντων δὲ
θεὸς ἀυδᾶ.

"Now the Deity effects all things for thee; now leads thee in the right way.
Do not torment thyself; thou wilt do every thing to your mind.
Thou wilt attain that which, without blame, thou desirest.
Whatsoever thou wishest, thou wilt effect, if words (or, if you shall utter) . . . . .
He, O stranger, who trusts in his own hand, of every . . . . . .
Design peacefully, and God will be thy leader."

At Yarislee, on the Fountain.

Επὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δεσπότων καὶ ἀνικήτων αὐτοκρατόρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου καὶ Μαρκου Αὐρηλίου Αντωνείνου καὶ Π. Σεπτιμίου Γέτας Καισαρος καὶ νέας Ἥρας Ρωμαίας συν παντὸς οἰκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου τῶν Ρωμαίων· ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου λαμπροτάτου Τατίου Τιτιανοῦ τῃ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τῶ Λακίνεων Δημω μετὰ πασας αρχας τε και λειτουργίας καὶ διαποντίους πρέσβειας ας ἤνυσεν επὶ Θεοῦ Κομμὸδου Τρύφων Απολλωνίδου ὑποσχόμενος ἀπὸ . . . . . Θυγατρὸς ἰδίας . . . . . καὶ προσφιλοτειμησάμενος μετὰ τῆς γονικὸς Ἀμμίας . . . . . Θυγατρὸς . . . . . καὶ αὐτὰς διὰ βίου μετέχειν ἐκτελέσας τὸ βαλανεῖον παρέδωκεν.

This inscription seems to have begun with a form common under the Roman emperors, which in Latin was expressed by *pro salute et victoriâ.* The following is its tenor in English:

"For the safety and victory and stability of the lords and invincible emperors Lucius Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*Caracalla,*) and Publius Septimius Geta Cæsar, and the new Roman Juno, (*Plautilla,*) with all

the house of the Augusti, and the senate and people of the Romans, under the most illustrious proconsul Tatius Titianus. Tryphon, son of Apollonides, after all the commands, the offices, and the embassies beyond seas, which he performed under the god Commodus, having finished this bath, with the* concurrence of his wife Ammia and her daughter . . . . . , and on condition that they are to have the benefit of it for life, has presented it to his beloved native place, the Demos of the Lacinenses."

If the reading as to Plautilla is correct, the date of this inscription is about A. D. 203.

The name of ΛΑΚΑΝΕΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣ occurs in the inscription on the fountain. From the form of the first letter it might be mistaken for ΤΑΚΑΝΕΩΝ.

I was disposed to consider this the name of the district placed by Ptolemy close to that of Themisonium, and seeming to refer to the Laconian towns of the neighbourhood, Sagalassus, Selge, Isbarta, and others; but on better grounds,

* The preceding part of the inscription is literally translated, but from hence the obvious sense is only given, as many of the words are imperfect.

Yarislee may be said to be on the site of the town called Lagon in the march of the Consul Manlius, which he found deserted after his halt at Mandropolis, and at no great distance from the sources of the river Lysis.

Perhaps this is the place called Lagania in the Notitiæ, but placed by the author of the *Oriens Christianus*, in Pamphylia, and of which he gives the following names as bishops:

Zacharias.

Constans,

Elizæus,

Basilius.

At half past one we began to ascend the mountain, and at ten minutes before two, the village of Navlo, situated on a knoll at the right.

As we were ascending the hill, I saw something shining on the road, which proved to be one of the needles used by the camel-drivers for mending their camel furniture. It was about six inches long, and had a large, very long eye; it had evidently been dropped by one of the conductors of a caravan which was some little way a-head of us, and of which the sound of the

camel bells, as it was occasionally brought to us by the wind, was so agreeable, that I was not surprised Mr. Lovell should call the camels lovers of music.

This association of the needle with the camels at once reminded me of the passage which has been considered so difficult to be illustrated. "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

Why should it not be taken literally? As the usages of the east are as unvarying as the laws of the Medes and Persians, I can easily imagine that even the camel driver of Rachel carried his needles about with him, to mend "the furniture;" and the equipment of a camel-driver in those days could not well have been more simple than at present; comprising simply his long benish or cloak of white felt or coarse cloth, the shield against sun and cold by day, and his bed by night; a tinned *casan*, or crock, for his pillau, and all the other uses of the cuisine; a wooden bowl to prepare the barley or dari balls for his camels, and his needles and cordage.

His short pipe and tobacco-bag are luxuries of modern days.

The needle, from its constant and daily use, must have held a prominent place in his structure of ideas and imagery; and as we know how fertile the imaginations of these camel-drivers were in furnishing us with proverbs and legendary tales, for Mahomet is said to have heard the story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus from a fellow camel-driver, why may not the impracticability of a camel's passing through the eye of his needle, even a common camel, much more the double-hunched gentleman of Bactria, have been a common expression to denote an impossibility? *

* Many persons, even in Asia, consider the dromedary as the animal privileged to carry two hunches, and that the camel has only one. The dromedary has *never* two hunches, and the only difference between the dromedary and the camel is precisely the distinction between the waggon-horse and the racer; the dromedary is the latter, and the other the beast of burden. The camel with two hunches is a particular species, called the Bactrian camel.

Perhaps it is digressing too much to allude here to the double-hunched horse of Lady Hesther Stanhope; but as many of my readers have probably never heard of it, I will venture to mention it.

Long previous to the residence of Lady Hesther in Syria, a

How valuable the needle must be to the poor camel-driver, may be inferred from its loss. Should he have been so improvident as to have only one, the loss of it would be one of the greatest he could suffer, and when travelling through the desert, might even endanger his personal safety.

Another explanation may be given, but much less natural than the former. Every body has

tradition was general among the Arabs that a personage should one day arrive among them, who should be the greatest benefactor or benefactress that their tribes had ever known since the days of Ishmael; and that there might be no mistake, the person should be identified with the possessor of a horse wearing a natural saddle.

Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch of excitement, when Lady Hesther fixed her abode on Mount Lebanon. She had not long arrived, when she was presented by one of the Sheiks with a beautiful Arabian horse, from whose back rose, like the Bactrian camel in miniature, two elevations affording a seat between them like the Tatar saddles of the east. I believe, though I am not sure, that some difference of colour in the hair marked also the saddle housings.

No sooner was this known, than the news was spread in every Arab tent, that the benefactress, the great and long looked-for deliverer, was arrived, and homage was tendered to her ladyship by the chiefs of every tribe.'

I never had the honour of seeing Lady Hesther, and am never likely to do so; but leaving it to others to notice her

heard of the obelisks of Alexandria, called the *Needles* of Cleopatra—a name, I apprehend, anciently given to them and similar obelisks. These were usually erected at the entrance of temples. If two such obelisks were existing at Jerusalem, and so close to each other as not to admit the passing of a loaded camel, and passable only by the traveller on foot, the proverb might have had its origin from hence.

I have compared, in my first journey, the camel driver, with his white benish, to the figures in the Morai of Owhyee. It did not then occur to me, that this extraordinary-looking, but invaluable cloak, afforded a good illustration of Exodus, xxii. 26.

It is his fair weather and foul weather compa-

peculiarities, if they can feel pleasure in doing so, I tender, with the Arab sheiks, my respectful homage to that warm-hearted and magnificent benevolence, to which, much more than to her miraculous steed, she is deservedly indebted for the veneration in which she is held by the Arabs.

I have even heard it said, and I believe it, that she could have done more to prevent the advance of Ibrahim Pasha, by a single word to her subjects of the desert, than all the firmans or armies of Mahmoud. She is also a lady of most highly cultivated mind.

nion, his protection against the heat and cold by day, and by night his bed and counterpane. How cruelly would he feel its loss? So humane was the law of the Jewish legislator, "If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down. For that is his covering only; it is his raiment for his skin;—wherein shall he sleep?"

We were now in a very extensive plain of great elevation; the cold was excessive, and having a violent cold, I was keenly susceptible of it. We rode fast, without feeling warmer, and arrived at four o'clock at the miserable village of Kaiadevè, situated very near another lake, Kaia Ghiul, (or Kaisè Ghiul.) It was very desirable to have gone an hour or two farther, for there was nothing inviting in the oda or the society we found in it; but I was too indisposed. The clouds were heavy, and threatened an unpropitious day for to-morrow. Two beggars were our bedfellows, for we could not get rid of them here as at Deenare, by purchasing their share of the apartment, there being no other in which they could find shelter. We had, notwithstanding, some antiquarian intelligence, which made

some amends for a bad dinner and a wretched apartment. We were told, that at Hazelare, between Bourdour and Yazakeuy, on the mountain side at the right, are very considerable remains. That the river we crossed between Bourdour and Yazakeuy, and which runs into the lake of Bourdour, has its sources at or near Hazelare, and it is therefore probably the site of either Lysinoe or Cretopolis. Our informant told us also, that near *this* village, about a quarter of an hour distant on the mountain, are the remains of a *hissar* or *kalesi*—a castle.

Tuesday, Nov. 20.—Mr. Dethier rose at an early hour, and went in pursuit of this castle, but without success. It is however certain, that there is an ancient building, our informants call it a *double* castle, on the mountain immediately over the lake; and Kaiadevè probably stands near the site of an ancient town, though we saw no stones in proof of it.

The Consul Manlius, when near Mandropolis passed the lake Caralis; now, as there is no other lake on the west of Yarislee except that near Davous, which is much too distant, if Lagon was at Yarislee, it will follow that the

lake of Kaiadevè must be the lake Caralis, and the ruins on the mountain of the lake those probably of Mandropolis; unless there are also ancient remains at Navlo, which certainly stands on a commanding situation. Mandropolis may be placed, with much probability, at one of those places, I should say at Kaiadevè; and if the name Mandropolis has an affinity with modern Greek, the conjecture is supported by the extensive open country near it, eminently calculated, like another Salisbury Plain, for the pasturage of sheep.

The ice was thick on the water, and the clouds threatened a heavy fall of snow. I was dreadfully *enrhumé*, but what was to be done? We mounted at a quarter past eight, and passed by an excellent road along the side of the lake, which was nearly close to the village.

A little sprinkling of snow came on; and when we would have quickened our pace, we were stopped by a man dressed in an Arab benish and accompanied by about ten other fellows. He laid his hand on Mr. Dethier's saddle, and in a very insolent tone demanded money; but as we did not perfectly understand him, we referred him to Kyriacos, as our interpreter. Quitting

On Stone by L. Haghe.

Drawn by S. Hagheds. from a Sketch by Lieut. Col. Sir W. Macleod.

KALA DEVÈ, "THE ROCK of the CAMEL".

Published by R. Bentley, London, 1834

his hold of Mr. Dethier's saddle, he seized the bridle of Kyriacos, and again repeated his demand in a louder and more menacing tone, on the plea that he was the cafiji of an adjoining cafè, and that having quitted it, he had occasion for money, and insisted on having some.

We told him that we were not rayahs, but Franks; and were neither obliged nor disposed to submit to such imposition; and repeated again and again that we were protected by the sultan's firman. We were considerably in advance of Milcom and Suleiman, neither of whom were as yet in sight, and the fellow calculating on his superiority of numbers, seemed to set our firman at defiance, and persisted in keeping hold of the bridle of Kyriacos, and, in a still more menacing tone, to repeat his demand.

My friend Dethier, though of the mildest and most amiable temper, is a man of the most determined courage and resolution; and finding the fellow persisted in detaining us, he drew both pistols, and coming up close to him, placed them on either side of the man's head, and threatened to shoot him if he did not instantly set off.

I knew my friend so well, as to be convinced

he would do what he threatened; and intreating him to be patient, tried to make the scoundrel respect our firman. He was perfectly unmoved, and with a pistol about six inches from each ear, he coolly turned his head from one to the other, as if examining if they were really weapons of death.

Perhaps the capsuled locks, without flints, made him hope they were not so; for instantly after he began his insolence again, and looked back upon his men with an expression of countenance which plainly called upon them to come to his assistance. They had only large sticks, but their leader was armed with pistols and yatagan.

God knows what might have happened, if at this moment Milcom and Suleiman had not appeared in sight. I instantly directed the fellow's attention to them, the pistols still at his head; when observing a double-barrelled gun in the hands of both our surigees, he thought it prudent to quit his hold on the bridle, and slunk quietly away, followed by his gang, now reinforced by four or five others.

When Milcom came up and heard our story,

he galloped back after the fellow, and, proving that the patient and enduring Armenian could be roused into a lion, he succeeded in bringing back an ample apology for the insult we had received.*

Permitted to resume our journey, we shortly after came to the palace of the cafidji, a mud hut covered with pine branches. The snow fell thick, and we made the best of our way. We were now on the south border of the lake, elevated on the mountain side above it. We observed curious white patches on the edges of the lake, especially on this side, where a broad white ridge entered some way into the water. It is probably a formation of *tufa*, like Hierapolis, for it was not salt, the water of the lake being fresh.

* I have said, in the first volume, that the Turks designate the Armenians by the name of the "*Camel*;" and to prove that this is far from being a disrespectful epithet, the reader has only to refer to Mr. Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, page 198, and he will there find a list of names applied by the Turks to all other nations, European and Asiatic, infinitely less respectful than that of *Camel*. If Mr. Eton really had any good authority for the libellous catalogue, which is very doubtful, I will not reprint the calumny.

The epithet of *Camel*, as applied to the Armenian character, I have somewhere read, originated in the failure of an attempt of the sultan to make themsoldiers like the other rayahs.

The existence of so many lakes, and at small distances from each other, is a striking peculiarity in the interior of Anatolia; that some of these should be salt lakes, while others are fresh, is another peculiarity. Without going so far off as the lake Tatta, which supplies all the country with salt, the lakes on the road from Konia to Affium kara hissar, at Ilgun, Aksher, &c. are fresh water lakes. On the west of Konia, the vast lake of Bey sher is salt; that of Eyerdir is fresh. The lakes of Bourdour and Navlo are salt, as are the large lake of Anava, and the small one of Churak; whereas the lake at Kaiadevè is fresh.

Colonel Leake, in his valuable paper in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, on the identity of the Quorra with the Niger, has the following observations on fresh and salt lakes.

"I am aware that many persons are of opinion that the freshness of the water in the lake Tjad, is a proof of its having a stream flowing from it, on the principle, that as all rivers hold saline particles in solution, the saltness of the lake will continually increase if there be no expenditure but by evaporation. But although the theory

may be correct; although lakes, without outlets, having steep margins, which prevent any enlargement of surface, may thus become strongly impregnated with salt, shallow lakes, formed by periodical inundations, like the greater part of those in North Africa, may be very differently affected.

"Here a great part of the salt being left on the margin, as the evaporation takes place, is absorbed by the vegetation; while the salt in the permanent part of the lake will keep that water at the bottom, by its weight, when the inundation takes place, or, at least, will cause it to be only partially mixed with the new supply,—so that the upper surface of the lake will be always nearly, if not quite, as fresh as the river that forms it.

"That, in fact, all such lakes are fresh, or nearly so, notwithstanding their having no outlet, may be shown from a multitude of examples. It is sufficient to mention the Zurra, in Persia, which is formed by the river Helmund, by the Greeks called Etymander; the lakes Nessonis and Bæbeis, in Thessaly; the lake Mœris, in Egypt; and a *series of lakes* which, with the

streams flowing into them, *occupy a length of two hundred miles in the interior of Asia Minor.*

"These last form an exact parallel with the Tjad, in having, at no great distance from them, salt lakes, and a large tract of country producing salt on the surface,—facts which furnish the further proof, that a great degree of saltness, in lakes, depends neither upon outlets nor margins, but upon local causes, as we see exemplified in the Dead Sea, of which some of the cliffs are of solid salt."*

In proof of the correctness of this reasoning, may be adduced the lake of Kaiadevè,—a lake having *no outlet*, and yet a *fresh* lake. It is not quite certain that the lake of Eyerdir has any emissary, for the river which we crossed, near the town, may possibly run into it, instead of out of it; it was too dark to distinguish; and if so, Eyerdir is also a fresh-water lake.

The *salt* lakes are constantly termed by the Turks, "*bitter*:" may not, therefore, "*bitter*," as applied, in Scripture, and by the Orientals of the present day, to waters unfit for use, be sim-

* Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc. vol. ii. page 23.

ply a *figurative* expression, denoting the *bitterness* of disappointment which the fainting traveller experiences, on discovering that the beautiful lake, descried at a long distance, and the object of his most anxious solicitude, mocks his expectations; and though pure and inviting to the eye, is nauseous to the taste, and would rather increase his sufferings than relieve them?

Having crossed a small river near a bridge, with tamarisks on the banks, at ten o'clock, the snow became more compassionate; and when we arrived at Solda, about five minutes after, it had nearly ceased. This village lies a little on the right. We now crossed a small plain, and then ascended among pines, balsams, valonea, and juniper: the hills all around were covered with pines, and the soil of a reddish colour, indicating the vicinity of iron: our course probably south-west.

The road led still through these pine-hills till eleven o'clock, when we began to descend: the hill was a long one, and we walked down. At twelve o'clock the village (or rather town, having five hundred houses) of Gunè lay on the left, distant about a quarter of an hour. We passed

the village of Sigalik at a quarter before one o'clock; the road winding through a valley, over a broad, dry watercourse, with earthy-looking rocks, bare, and of a porphyric, or reddish purple colour on either side.* At half-past one re-ascended the hills.

At two, descended into a magnificent plain, called the plain of Kara-uke; and previously to entering it, when nearly at the bottom of the mountain, saw, on the right, a most extraordinary formation, resembling immense quarries of great height, and of a colour which at a distance might be mistaken for light-coloured yellow satin, the whitish streaks giving the shades. The effect was much heightened by the dark green foliage of several large pines growing in and about it.

Close to this we came to the village of Afshar; but as it was only two o'clock, we resolved, though the snow had been succeeded by slight rain, to proceed to the village of Kai-issar. Our road lay for a little way over the plain, then entered a gorge among the hills on the north; and

* This continued appearance is presumptive evidence that we were approaching the Cibyrates, celebrated for its iron mines.

suffering much from the excessive cold north wind, we were delighted to arrive at the town of Kai-issar about ten minutes after three.

It is a considerable place, finely situated on the side of the mountain. We were nearly frozen before we could find a place to receive us, to-morrow being the bazaar day, and every apartment crowded. We waited for the best, having, through the kind offices of a Greek, been placed in the best oda of the village. The proprietor was full of the kindest attentions: he had lived long in the world, and had experienced much of its vicissitudes: his heart was evidently softened by sufferings.

Some years ago he was a man of considerable property and influence in Kai-issar and its neighbourhood; but opposing an aga, though with justice, for his rapacity and oppression of the villagers, he became the victim of his benevolence. The aga had more influence than himself at Constantinople, denounced his opponent as a rebel and traitor to the sultan, and, without further investigation, his property was all seized, and himself and family exiled to a remote village on the shores of the Black Sea.

After a long banishment, his innocence was proved on the removal of the aga, who had either lost his influence, or, what is the same thing, was not rich enough to pay longer for it; and the injured man returned about two years since to his native village, and to the wrecks of his once ample fortune.

We had made our beds, and laid down—Kyriacos, Milcom, and Suleiman were already indulging in slumbering melodies—when the door opened, and five or six young Turks entered the apartment. They were all handsome young men, and in high *kief*, joking and playing with each other, more agreeably to themselves than to us, who were not so willing to be disturbed. My bed, close to the chimney, a privileged place, as I was an invalid, stood a fair chance of being burnt, with myself in it, by a forest of wood, which they threw into the fire.

We waited patiently and impatiently for their departure, but they had no such intention; and having carefully removed all our baggage to another part of the room, spread their beds among us. They were the sons of the oda bashi.

Kai-issar is certainly on or near the site of a

considerable ancient town. We saw pedestals and marbles lying in all directions, and capitals of a very ancient form, upon which, like those on the great mosque of Ephesus, was a cross—vestiges of a primitive church.

There is much reason to suppose that this is the site of the ancient city of Themisonium, which was placed by Ptolemy in the same country with Cibyra, Hierapolis, and Apamea, and by Hierocles among the towns of Phrygia Pacatiana, together with Laodicea, Colossæ and Hierapolis.

In the tabular itinerary there is a road from Laodicea ad Lycum, to Perga, passing through Themisonium and Cormasa. On this road Colonel Leake remarks, that "although the direct distance is upwards of one hundred G. M. there are only forty-six M. P. marked in the table, namely—thirty-four between Themisonium and Cormasa, and twelve from Cormasa to Perga. If these two distances were correct, therefore, the omitted distance between Laodicea and Themisonium ought to be supplied with about one hundred M.P. It is impossible to believe, however, that Themisonium, which is named by

Strabo among the smaller towns round Apamea and Laodicea, could have been so far to the south-east. Cormasa, on the other hand, must have been much more than twelve M. P. from Perga; for it appears from Livy, that Cormasa was at a considerable distance from the borders of Pamphylia towards Lysinoe and the lake of Bourdour; which agrees with Ptolemy, who names it among the cities of Pisidia, and next to Lysinia." *

But on an attentive examination of the table, I think the thirty-four miles placed between Themisonium and Cormasa does not mark the distance between these towns, but between Laodicea and Themisonium, and which is exactly the distance from Eski-hissar, (Laodicea,) to Kaissar—for between Antioch on the Meander and Carura, there is no distance given in the table, but immediately over these towns, and preceding Laodicea are the figures VI. If we suppose an X omitted, sixteen miles would be just the distance between Antioch and Carura; then the XX which follows is the correct distance between Casara and Laodicea; and as no figures

* Colonel Leake's Journal, p. 155.

occur between that town and Themisonium, the thirty-four which is after Themisonium, no doubt makes the distance between it and Laodicea, and as I have observed, this is very near the actual distance between Eski-hissar and Kai-issar.

There would still be a considerable distance, to supply, omitted in the table, between Themisonium and Cormasa, and possibly the ruins at Germè may after all prove to be those of Cormasa, written, by the better authority of Polybius, Curmasa, of which Germè may be a corruption.

Pausanius places Themisonium in Phrygia *above* or *beyond* Laodicea, that is, to the east of it, and calls it an Arcadian colony founded by Azan, and that at the distance of thirty stades from the city was a *cave* of which the entrance was very small, and thereby difficult to be discovered, for there was no path that led to it, nor did the light of the sun penetrate far into it; and besides this the roof was very near the ground;* that it had before the entrance little statues of Hercules, Apollo and Mercury, in gratitude to those deities, for having in a dream

* Taylor's Pausanius, vol. iii. p. 193.

directed the inhabitants to this cave, as a place of refuge, when the Gauls were laying waste all Ionia, &c. These statues were called Spelaitai. This cave is said to have many sources of water within it.

On a coin of Themisonium, in the cabinet of my friend Mr. Borrell, is a river God, with the name of Azanes; evidence of some river being at or near Themisonium; probably this is the river at Yatagan. Matthias was bishop of Themisonium, A. D. 503.

We were told that the direct road from Denizli to Adalia, is—from Denizli to Kara-uke, nine hours; from Kara-uke to Kaiadevè, (where we slept last night,) six hours; thence to Folla, (φελλως?) ten hours; Folla to Yenijaklee, ten hours, and thence to Adalia six hours.

CHAPTER VI.

Village at Yatagan—The Turkish Saint Yatagundie—Miraculous escape of Kyriacos—Arrive at Chokour—Routes to Adalia, &c.—The Cibyrates—Marches of the Consul Manlius—Diocese ofthe Archbishop of Pisidia..

Wednesday, Nov. 21.—It was ten o'clock before we left Kai-issar, Kyriacos being busily engaged with the kabobji in dressing our meat. It was not too late, for the cold was excessive, the ice being very thick. We had intended to go to Khonas, and thence to Hierapolis; but hearing from our host that on the road to Denizli the Kiouk Bounar *sunk* into the ground, and afterwards re-emerged, as my Denizli correspondent had formerly told me, we determined to take that road. It is well we did, for we afterwards learnt that Khonas was nine hours from Kai-issar, instead of six, as we had been informed.

At half past ten we passed the village of Ujak, and came to the village of Yatagan at ten minutes after eleven, the road leading over low hills with pines, and latterly at the head of the plain of Kara-uke, course north-west. The village has its name, it appears, from a convent, in which is the tomb and body of a Mahometan saint, called Yatagundie.

If we are to credit the account of Lucas, the mosque where the saint reposes is full of riches; sixty massive chandeliers of silver ten feet in height, and a great number of gold and silver lamps. Two hundred dervishes were employed in the service of the mosque, which has immense revenues, most of which are expended in hospitality, feeding and lodging every one that passes by.

Unfortunately we knew nothing about this magnificent establishment, or we might have pitched our tents here instead of at Kai-issar, not for the better fare, but because it is said that there is a very considerable library annexed to the mosque, with a great number of precious manuscripts; and who knows if we might not have picked up the lost decades of Livy? However, we shall not readily forget Yatagan or its saint,

from an occurrence which had something of the miraculous in it.

The horse of our mehmandar was a high mettled steed, of untameable spirit, and but for one unfortunate propensity would have been a most valuable animal. Whenever he happened to find himself in advance of the party, he would retrograde with all the precision of a military movement, till he fell again into the ranks; but usually, while this back step was taking place, Milcom would hasten up, and with all the energies of his long whip, make horse, rider, palank, and paplomas, set off on a full gallop over hill or plain, till he supposed the horse's liveliness was a little abated.

On this morning, from some reason or other, Kyriacos was considerably a-head of us, when his horse began his customary backward march. At the distance of about a hundred yards was what in another season would be called a river of importance; it was now a considerable stream, thickly frozen over, and with high banks.

The animal was making his way straight to this place;—aware of the imminent danger, we

galloped up, but before we could arrive the catastrophe had taken place. The horse stepped back with a quick pace, and was on the brink of the precipice, as it might be called; that is, a bank of about ten or twelve feet. In another moment he fell back with rider, palank, and paploma under him, into the frozen stream.

We were breathless with apprehension; and certainly whatever might be the fate of the horse, hardly ventured to hope that our useful friend would ever rise again. He did rise again, however, but soaked to the skin; and the innumerable masses of ice about him blazed like brilliants in the sunbeams, and tinkled like the bells of a caravan of camels.

Providentially he had no bones broken, though severely bruised, and had he been a good Mahometan, would doubtless have consecrated a silver horse, palank, and paploma, as votive tablets to St. Yatagundie. We were obliged to halt at least half an hour, till, from the intensity of the cold, and the cutting north wind, we were nearly masses of ice ourselves; what then was the situation of poor Kyriacos, obliged to strip to the

skin, and change every article of his habiliments. But a deep draught from the rackee bottle restored animation, if it did not cure the bruises, and we set off again at half-past eleven, enlivened as usual by Kyriacos, who gave us positive evidence that he was not mortally wounded, by singing, as usual, a long and loud, if not very melodious, Greek chaunt.

We ascended, and then descended again into the magnificent plain of Kara-uke about half-past twelve. At one o'clock the large village of Kesil-hissar lay at the foot of the mountain on the left, about half an hour distant. Our course across the plain was as before, north-west, or north by west. We again quitted the plain at two o'clock, half dead with the intensely cold wind blowing in our teeth, and ascended the mountain on foot. A café hut was a cheering sight, and we gladly accepted the cafigi's invitation to enter and take a cup of coffee.

We continued to ascend, and afterwards descended on foot all the way to the village of Chokour, which, from the immense depth at which it lies in the valley, well deserves the name of *profound*, or *deep*, as the Turkish word sig-

nifies. On the descent we saw a variety of strata; and a mineral like manganese, certainly iron ore, and another evidence of the vicinity of the Cibyrates.

There was a view of a distant plain before us, which resembled a lake with a white incrustation on the right, which though we first took for Denizli Ovasi, or the plain of Denizli, proved afterwards to be the plain and ruins of Hierapolis. The valley in which we descended is full of pines, and the village of Chokour, where we arrived at four o'clock, is embosomed in fruit trees.

We found a good oda, more than half filled by previous visitors. They were Greeks from Levisee, opposite Rhodes.

Our apartment had a raised and well-floored platform occupying the better half of it; this the Greeks, as first comers, were entitled to, and showed no disposition to relinquish. We were lodged more humbly on the earthern floor; we had, however, the fire-place, which would have been an important advantage, if some entire trunks of trees, hospitably thrown into it, to dry the still dripping wardrobe of Kyriacos, had not,

from the evaporation, nearly suffocated our party, and offered an English etymology for Chokour.

This was the first time on our journey that we had seen Greeks in an oda; and if any further proof was necessary that the Turks, in their hospitality, are really influenced by the "charity that envieth not, and seeketh not her own," these Greeks supply it; they were quite as well entertained as ourselves, without offering to make, I believe, the smallest remuneration.

They had come from Levisee, a place of some importance, on the eastern side of the gulf of Macri, but not to be found in the maps. The part of the country through which they passed may still be called nearly unknown land, and it will be therefore useful to the future traveller to know that there is a road direct from this place, Levisee, in the gulf of Macri, to Denizli.

Previously to arriving at Chokour, they had passed through Kesiljah-bouluk, a place of which I heard at Denizli in 1826, as having very considerable ruins. This was confirmed by these Greeks, from whom I procured a medal found at that place, of Sebastopolis.

I should be much inclined to identify Kesiljah-

bouluk with Kesil-hissar, which we saw at our left after leaving Yatagan; both are described as at the same distance, about six hours, from Denizli, and to the south. At least Kesil-hissar is clearly the Guzel-hissar of Major Rennell's map, and the Zel-hissar of a friend's route from Adalia, and at one of these places I should certainly fix Cibyra.

I have long proposed to attempt some explanation of the marches of the Roman army under the consul Manlius, and perhaps this will be the best place for doing it.

The Consul Manlius (B. C. 180) on his march from Ephesus, crossed the Meander and came to Antioch, called Antioch on the Meander. From Antioch he marched in one day to Gordiutichos, an inconsiderable place of which the exact position is unknown, and thence in three days to Tabæ, (Davaus.) In three days' march from Tabæ he reached the Chaus, probably a branch of the Indus river; beyond it was the town of Eriza, after which he proceeded to Cibyra.

I will not attempt to explain the position previous to his arrival at Cibyra. His marches, both previously and afterwards, seem to have

been, as Major Rennell observes, very circuitous, and generally very short; this the major accounts for by stating that "as his present view was the levying of contributions, great delay must necessarily have occurred."

Cibyra has usually been placed very considerably to the south, or rather south-east of Davaus, a position which is altogether at variance with the authority of Strabo, and other writers, who assign it to Phrygia, and to the Conventus of Laodicea. By Hierocles it seems included within the limits of Caria. It is also described as not far below the district of Antioch on the Meander.*

Dr. Cramer observes, that "no traces of the site of Cibyra have as yet been discovered, but it is probable that they are to be found not far from Denizli, or Laodicea, on a river, which is either the Lycus, or a branch of it." Now, though this is in part incorrect, because, as will be hereafter shown, the Lycus is not in this direction, yet Cibyra certainly was not very remote from Denizli; and I am still disposed to

* Strabo says Cibyra lay between Lycia and the parts of the valley of the Meander, about Nysa and Antiochia.

consider Kesiljah-bouluk and Kesil-hissar, as one and the same place, and that Cibyra.

The only objection against it is, that the journal of a very intelligent friend who travelled from Gheira, (Aphrodisia) to Denizli, mentions having passed through a magnificent plain, in which was a stadium and the ruins of a town; these must be the ruins of Kesiljah-bouluk, and the plain is an evidence that they are the ruins of Cibyra, and as Gheira lies south-west from Denizli, this seems to disagree with the position of Kesil-hissar, which lies south of Denizli. It is on this sole account that I have allowed the name of Kesiljah-bouluk to appear in the map distinct from Kesil-hissar, and to the west of it.

At the same time, the single fact that Kesiljah-bouluk lay in the route of the Greeks from Levisee, seems sufficient to obviate the objection, and the direction of the ranges of Mount Cadmus very probably obliged the traveller from Gheira to incline towards the east, in which case the plain would be the great plain of Kara-uke, and Kesiljah-bouluk and Kesil-hissar one and the same.

Another proof of this seems to be in the in-

formation received at Denizli,* that the distance from Khonas to Yarangouné was eight hours, and thence to Kesiljah-bouluk one hour; if Yarangouné be the Yatagundie of Lucas, and Yatagan of our journey, as is very probable, for the distance from Khonas exactly agrees, then Kesilhissar must be Kesiljah-bouluk, for it is just one hour from Yatagan.

The result of this, in illustration of the march of the consul Manlius, will be, that the great plain of Kara-uke will be the great Cibyratic plain. This plain is described by Corancez as being about four or five leagues wide, and separated from that of Tefeni, (which he supposed the site of Cibyra,) by a chain running north and south. In this plain he saw numerous forges for working iron, a proof, he admits, of the vicinity of Cibyra, celebrated for its iron mines; and we saw numerous indications of iron ore on the road from Yatagan to Chokour.

* Information received at Denizli in 1826. Six hours from Denizli south, at a place called Kesiljah-bouluk, are many grand remains. Going from Khonas to Denizli, it lies on the south-west, not in the road. At one hour from this last place, is Makouf, with many remains of a castle, &c. From Khonas to Yarangounè eight hours; thence to Kiljah-bouluk one hour.

Corancez, who was on his way to Denizli, comes in this plain, to a place called Bazaar khan, of which we could hear nothing, though we inquired repeatedly; and it is therefore probable that this was only the name of a khan where the bazaar was held, contiguous to the town of Kara-uke, which exactly agrees with the distance and bearing assigned by Corancez to Bazaar khan from Denizli, namely, *nine* hours south-east.

If the plain of Kara-uke be not that of Cibyra it would be the *Agri Sindensium*, which Manlius passed after leaving Cibyra, and the Caulares river where he pitched his camp, probably misnamed for the Calbis, would be the lower branch of the river Keugez; but as the great plain of Kara-uke would be properly expressed by the word *campus* instead of *agri*, I still take Kara-uke for the Cibyratic plain, and Sinda will be probably found at or near Gunè, evidently from its population a place of importance.

I am led to these conclusions, by the position of the town of Lagon at Kaia-devè, for if Cibyra really lay as far to the south or south-east as it is always placed in the maps, Manlius would be made to make many a march direct north to La-

gon, and then to return again nearly in the same direction south.

We have, however, additional evidence in support of our conjectures. After the consul had passed the Agri Sindensium and the river Caulares, *on the following day* he passed along the lake Caralitis, and halted at Mandropolis, and as they were advancing to the neighbouring town of Lagon, the inhabitants seized with terror, abandoned it.

Now there is no lake in the direction towards Yarislee, (Lagon,) but the lake of Kaia-devè; which must be therefore identified with the Caralitis, and the *double castle* and *remains*, on the mountain behind the lake, most probably are those of Mandropolis, unless, as has been before suggested, there are remains at Navlo to justify placing it there.

Lagon was distinctly at Yarislee, on quitting which the consul passes the sources of the river Lyses, and on the following day the river called Colobatus. The former would be probably either the river between Yazakeuy and Bourdour, or that which we crossed so often coming from

Aglason to Bourdour, and which falls into the lake.

It is indeed possible, that on the western side of the lofty saddle-back mountain, which we saw on our road from Aglason, bounding the plain on the west-north-west there may be another river, having its sources in the mountain, which may be the Lyses, having a downward stream towards Lysinoe, if that city was, as the Notitiæ place it, in Pamphylia.

The Colobatus river may with much plausibility be identified with the Agas deresi chay, and both with the Catarractes.

Manlius being arrived so far, alters his line of march, which had been eastward, and takes a southern route into Pamphylia, obliges the Termessians to raise the siege of Isionda; and having granted terms of peace to the inhabitants of Termessus, Aspendus and others, he commences his marches out of Pamphylia. There are so many difficulties in explaining his route upwards, that I can do little more than mention the names.

The first day he came to the river Taurus, that is, some stream having its sources in that

mountain, but of which he does not give the proper name, unless one of the branches of the Eurymedon may be so called, for he may be supposed to be at or on the east of Aspendus. The place called Xylinen Comen, or the village of wood-houses, was probably among the pine forests of Taurus.

From thence, after several marches, he arrives at Cormasa. This may be at Germè—at all events it cannot be more to the east, nor to the north, because it lay on the west or north of Perga. The town of Darsa lay nearest to Cormasa, which he found abandoned by its inhabitants. If Cormasa was at Germè, Darsa may have been at Issar keuy.

The greatest difficulty remains. As the consul was advancing beyond (or by the side of) the *lake* or *lakes*, a deputation from Lysinoe surrendered that city. Now if Lysinoe really was at Bourdour, he could not have passed *that* lake without passing the town also, and of course before the deputation met him,—a most improbable circumstance, as the object of his march in that direction was to compel its surrender; and what is a stronger objection, his subsequent march is

into the territory of Sagalassus, which would be to return again to the south, instead of advancing,—to say nothing of the absurdity of the supposition, that he should not have taken Sagalassus in his way to Bourdour, lying, as it did exactly, in his road.

Either, therefore, Lysinoe must be sought for more to the south, (possibly on the western side of the range, near Tshaltighi,) or the *lake* must be some other *lake* than that of Bourdour; and there is none to the south of Sagalassus, but that out of which the Duden has been said to rise, at the east of the ruins of Termessus.

It would be digressing too much to follow Manlius in his subsequent marches, though we have previously suggested, that the sources probably mistaken for the Obrimas and the Comen Aporidos were at Subashi in Dombai-ovasi; and the plain of Metropolis, that of Kara Aslan near Oloubourlou.

Levisee, from whence our oda companions came, is mentioned in the subjoined sketch which the Archbishop of Pisidia gave me of the extent of his diocese: it is a curious and useful document; and I lament that my unexpected depar-

ture from Smyrna has deprived me of a particular description of all the intermediate stages, which he promised to send me.

	HOURS.
From Isbarta to Eyerdir . . .	8
From Eyerdir to Barla . . .	8*
From Barla to Kazali	8
From Kazali to Yalobatz	12
From Yalobatz to Ouloubourlou .	20
From Ouloubourlou to Bouldour .	12
From Bouldour to Mola . . .	60†
From Mola to Levisee	36
From Levisee to Antiphilo . .	36
From Antiphilo to Attalia . .	36
From Attalia to Alaya	36
From Alaya to Isbarta	46
	318

The diocese of Pisidia, therefore, in its present enlarged extent, includes Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycia, Milyas, the Cibyratic towns of Bubon, Balbura,‡ and Œnoanda, and a portion of Caria.

* Probably the ancient Parlais.

† This is evidently Mogola, sometimes written Moglah.

‡ The towns of Bubon and Balbura will very probably be

The Greeks and other persons whom we met at the oda confirmed the accuracy of the account we had yesterday of the road from Denizli to Adalia. But it may be useful to the traveller to know that there is also another route.

	HOURS.
From Satalia to Stanaas . . .	12*
From Suleclair to Hassan Pasha .	3
From Hassan Pasha to Agala .	5
From Agala to Karagatch	8
From Karagatch to Zilissar . . .	3
From Zilissar to ( ) . .	3†
From ( ) to Denizli . .	4
	38

found below the plain of Kara-uke, in the direction of Levisee. Œnoanda was much more to the south, being described by Appian as adjoining the territory of the Xanthians, whose city was twelve or fifteen miles only from the coast.

The town of Bubon changed its name to Sophianopolis. Cibyra may have done the same; and the medals of Sebastopolis, found at Kesiljah-bouluk may have belonged to Cibyra. The Oriens Christianus has the names of seven bishops of Œnoanda, two of Bubon, (or Sophianopolis) and three of Balbura.

* This is of course the same place called Estenas, and Stanisaw.

† Probably Chokour; but the name forgotten.

CHAPTER VI.

Road from Chokour to Eski-hissar—The Kiouk Bonar's source, disappearance, and re-emergement—Not the Lycus, but the Cadmus—Colossæ therefore decidedly at Khonas—Description of its remains.

Thursday, Nov. 22.—In the immensely profound valley of Chokour, the view of the clouds this morning was one of extraordinary grandeur and curiosity. On the side of the valley towards the plain, the clouds, white as snow, and almost transparent, rolled along the mountain side nearly half way down, till they were met by a mass of other clouds blacker than night, and covering nearly half the valley. The sun was shining in the plain in a cloudless sky.

We quitted Chokour at a quarter before nine, the road lying along the ravine, accompanied by our fellow-lodgers, the Greeks, who were going

on to Denizli. At twenty-five minutes past nine, we crossed a river, near a bridge, running down into the plain: this river rises near Chokour, and probably from a source we saw in descending into the valley yesterday.

We now ascended the mountain side; and having rode along it some time, descended at ten o'clock, and saw the source of the Kiouk Bonar, coming out under the hill close at the left; then passing under a bridge in a great body of water, sinks into the ground under the mountain about five hundred yards from its source. About five hundred yards further on, the river re-emerges again, and flows along the side of the road.

This is so very like the description given, by Herodotus, of the disappearance and re-emergement of the Lycus, and which, according to that author, determines the site of Colossæ from its *disappearance within* that city; that had any ruin been upon the spot, I should have hesitated in fixing Colossæ at Khonas.

But though our guides told us of some inconsiderable remains in a mountain not far off, there was not the smallest vestige of antiquity, not a single block of stone, near the disappearance or

re-emergement of the Kiouk-bonar, for we examined with the most scrupulous attention; and therefore it is certain that the stream, of which I saw the *re-emergement*, in my first journey, between Denizli and Khonas, and called Saint Panteleemon, is the true Lycus; and Khonas, beyond all dispute, is the real site of Colossæ. The Kiouk-bonar must be, therefore, the Cadmus.

But in order to establish this in the minds of my readers, as well as my own, it will be necessary, for a short time, to defer the continuation of our journey to Eski-hissar, and to turn aside to the ruins of Colossæ, or at least the description I have attempted to give in my first journey. And I feel assured, that the interest which Colossæ must excite in the mind of every Christian, will be a sufficient apology for the interruption.

"We quitted Denizli (April 1826) at a quarter before one o'clock for Khonas. At one crossed a small stream; and at a quarter before two had a considerable river flowing down on our right, into which fell a small stream, which had been for

some time by the side of our road. At two o'clock crossed the same river by a new bridge of three arches. Shortly after, we saw the same river running about a quarter of a mile from our left hand, having over it another bridge, and immediately adjoining it, on the opposite side, a square building, with small round towers at the angles, called Bos-khan or Ak-khan.

"Our road now lay over a high and wide road to the east-south-east, parallel with, but at some distance from, the plain of the Lycus; and at twenty minutes before three, a village lay on our right hand. At a quarter past three, ascending a gently rising hill, passed a village on the left. At half past three saw a village standing very high on the mountain side on the right, and opposite to it in the plain below, on the left, some masses of rocks or old walls. At twenty-five minutes before four came to a small but beautifully clear stream, flowing close by the side of our road, on the left downwards towards the Lycus.

"We now entered a narrow road among rocks, and some fine pine trees, the scenery wild and

beautiful. At ten minutes before four, the same stream, which was now wider but shallow, to our astonishment, disappeared at once! or rather appeared to issue by a subterraneous course from under a low hill. I was much struck, feeling convinced at the time that this could be no other river than the Lycus, and this the spot mentioned by Herodotus, at which it re-emerged. We dismounted and walked for a short time over the hill, in the direction of the river, fully expecting every moment to see the χασμα γης, in which it is said to disappear, but were disappointed. A few stones very much decayed lay about the hill, on one of which I saw a cross.

"Our janissary was so impatient to reach Khonas, which was now in view, that we mounted our horses, determined to come here again in the morning. At the distance of a quarter of an hour, we passed through a village, with a large burial-ground inclosed by a very long and old wall, in which I saw several fragments, as well as in the court-yards of some of the houses. A few moments afterwards we saw on our left a clear narrow stream, rushing down the side of a

low hill; and instantly after crossed another (not the same.) There can be little doubt that this is the stream of which we had witnessed the re-emergement.

"At twenty minutes before five crossed by a bridge a much larger river, flowing down from the mountain on the right, and soon after arrived at Khonas, situated most picturesquely under the immense range of mount Cadmus, which rises to a very lofty and perpendicular height behind the village, in some parts clothed with pines, in others bare of soil, with immense chasms and caverns.

"Immediately at the back of Khonas, there is a very narrow and almost perpendicular chasm in the mountain, affording an outlet for a wide mountain torrent, the bed of which was now nearly dry; and on the summit of the rock, forming the left side of this chasm, or ravine, stand the ruins of an old castle, once the residence, so Chandler tells us, of Soley Bey.

"The approach to Khonas, as well as the village itself, is beautiful, abounding with tall trees, from which, as in Italy and at Sevri-hissar,

On Stone by J. Haghe.

Dedicated by Permission to the Right Honble Lord Viscount Palmerston &c. &c. &c.

CHONAS, anciently COLOSSE.

Published by R. Bentley, London 1834.

are suspended vines of the most luxuriant growth.

"On entering the village, and afterwards passing through it in search of a lodging, having the servant of the aga to accompany us, we passed several dry but wide and deep water-courses, worn by the torrents from mount Cadmus, which in a rainy season must be terrific.

"We soon attracted a crowd of Greeks about us, all of whom, as Smith formerly remarked, were ignorant of their own language, a priest only excepted, who, as in Smith's time, was a native of Cyprus. It was with some difficulty that we found lodgings; several Greeks, at whose houses we applied, being either unable or unwilling to take us in.

"In the course of the evening I was requested to see a poor young woman who was extremely ill. Her disease was dropsy in a very advanced stage. In the want of medicines better suited to her case, I advised the external fomentation of spirits of wine, soap, and vinegar, and the bathing, if she could bear the journey, in the hot waters of Hierapolis.

"*Friday, April* 7.—It was no small satisfaction to find this morning that our patient was at least not worse for the prescription. It had produced very copious perspiration all night, and she breathed freer and without cough. A multitude of others came to consult the Hakim. *

" We rose very early with the intention of walking round the village, and after returning for our horses, to take a wider survey; but when on the point of setting out, the aga sent to acquaint us, that if we wished to walk about we must have one of his men to attend us. We directly waited on the aga, accompanied by Memet; he received us civilly enough, with pipes, coffee, &c., but having returned to our lodgings, and waited an immense time for the promised cicerone, Memet came to us with a request from the aga to see our firman. We sent him both the

* A letter which I received from my Greek correspondent of Denizli in the beginning of July, announced the very unexpected and gratifying news that the poor woman had followed our prescriptions, having used the baths of Hierapolis, and was completely restored to her usual health; and what is not of every-day occurrence, she expressed her gratitude in the warmest terms.

firman and the pasha's teskeray. After the lapse of at least another hour, Memet returned with a very long face; the aga, he said, cared not a straw for the firman nor teskeray: he would not allow us to walk about, and there was but one course to be adopted — to leave the village instantly. Our horses were ordered to be loaded.

"The conduct of the aga was so much in character with what we had read in Smith, who had no sooner entered Khonas than he 'thought fit to leave it,' the inhabitants 'being a vile sort of people, so that he doubted of his safety among them,' that we thought we could not do wiser than follow his example.

"We recollected too, that Chandler had not ventured beyond Laodicea, because the frontier of the Cuthayan Pashalike 'was inhabited by a lawless and desperate people, who committed often the most daring outrages with impunity.'

"This seemed to account at once for the little respect paid by the aga to the teskeray of the pasha of Smyrna, and even to the firman. We resolved, therefore, not to regain, as Chandler, the Pashalike of Guzel-hissar, but to get beyond

that of Kutaieh with as little delay as possible, and enter the Pashalike of Isbarta.

" It was very vexatious to be compelled to abandon in this manner one principal object of our journey, the search for the real site of Colossæ; particularly as the singular discovery of the re-emergement of a river yesterday gave such sanguine hopes. Memet was therefore sent once more to the aga; and, conjecturing he might have taken offence at our approaching him without a present, Memet was directed to make apologies that we had nothing we could offer him, having brought neither coffee nor sugar, and begging his acceptance of a small sum of money instead of it. Memet was so long absent that we began to be apprehensive for his safety, and despatched Mustapha in search of him. After another hour we received permission to go where we pleased, and a man from the aga accompanied us.

" We first ascended the rock on which the castle stands, an almost inaccessible steep, of enormous height; on the summit are several fragments of old walls, but none of very ancient date.

" Descending, we passed through the village on

the eastern side, and found it to be of considerable extent; the multitude of fragments of marble pillars almost upon every terraced roof, used there as rollers, proved the existence of some considerable ancient town in the neighbourhood.

"Rycaut, in his Turkish History, says that Khonas stands on the site of an ancient town called Passas; but neither Stephanus, nor any other book that I have consulted, mentions such a town. We now turned to the west, under the village; and having asked our guide for the Eski-sher, (*the old city*,) he seemed instantly to understand our wishes, and took us towards the road by which we came yesterday from Denizli, though a little lower towards the plain.

"After walking a considerable time, he brought us to a place where a number of large squared stones lay about, and then showed us what seemed to have been a small church, which had been lately excavated, having been completely under the surface of the soil. It was long and narrow, and semicircular at the east end.

"Passing through several fields, in which were many more stones, I remarked one which had

an imperfect inscription. The only letters I could distinguish were TYOXY . . . . IHΩN . . . Not far from hence we saw a few vaults, and were told by a Greek that some walls not far off were the remains of two churches.

" Beyond this we came to a level space, elevated, by a perpendicular brow of considerable height, above the fields below. Here were several vestiges of an ancient city, arches, vaults, &c., and the whole of this and the adjoining grounds strewed with broken pottery.

" From thence we went much further, in the hope of finding the river whose re-emergement we had witnessed yesterday; and coming to a green ridge full of rocks, which seemed to have been cut either as a quarry or for other purposes, we observed under them several vaults with small square entrances. Our search for the river was so far ineffectual; but it was evident that we were below it: and thunder, and a sky as black as night, threatening instant torrents, we retraced our course, and when the rain began, took shelter in a natural cave, formed of beautiful stalactites, immediately in the side of the perpendicular rock upon which the remains which

we had seen were placed. In many of the grounds adjoining were vaults and ancient vestiges, but we could find no inscriptions. We returned to the village, heartily tired, and sufficiently wet, about half past four o'clock. It was a severe disappointment to leave Khonas without ascertaining the actual existence of the χασμα γης in which the Lycus disappears. The small rivulet which flowed through the deep and wide water-course at the back of the village sinks into the earth in the middle of the village: and on inquiring, we were told that, both in summer and winter, whether with much or little water, this stream is always lost on its way. This, therefore, is evidently a mountain torrent, and were it not so, could not be the river which Herodotus describes. We next inquired about the direction of the river which we had crossed by a bridge near the village, on coming from Denizli; and we were assured that this pursues its course uninterruptedly down into the plain. I should be disposed to call this the Cadmus described by Strabo; and I should as unhesitatingly have called the stream, whose re-emergement we saw, the Lycus, if the Greeks at

Khonas had not assured us that the river near Akkhan, or Bos-khan-bridge, at three hours higher up, that is to say, nearer its source, disappears really in a chasm of the ground, and after three hundred fathoms re-emerges again, two hours from Denizli, and two hours and a half from Khonas."

"I asked a Greek mason, (when at Denizli a few weeks after,) if he knew any thing of the town of Colossæ? He replied, without hesitation, 'Perfectly well, and that it stood at Khonas, though no remains were now to be met with.' Willing to hear further evidence from so good an authority, I asked him if he knew any thing of a river in the neighbourhood, which disappeared in a chasm of the ground, and re-emerged at a small distance. He said there was such a river at Khonas, on this side of the village, and that he himself had often seen it. He described the distance from the disappearance of the river to its re-emergement, by pointing to a building about a hundred yards from his shop, and saying it was not twice that distance.

"This agrees with the account which was given by the Greeks at Khonas in some respects, but differs in others. It, however, proves that Co-

lossæ stood between Denizli and Khonas, at no great distance from the latter: the few remains, therefore, which we saw, were doubtless those of Colossæ." *

It is now perfectly established, that a disappearance and re-emergement of a river occur in *two* very different situations—that of the Kioukbonar, which we saw to day, and the other at or very near Khonas. I apprehend that this extraordinary sinking into the ground and re-appearance is also applied by the ancient authors to *two* distinct rivers.

Herodotus distinctly says, that the Lycus sunk into a cavity of the ground, and after a subterranean course of five stadia, nearly three quarters of a mile, re-appeared again and flowed into the Meander; and that this *sinking* into the ground was within the city of Colossæ. †

Strabo describes the Lycus as having its source in mount Cadmus; that it is a river of considerable size, and flows into the Meander. He afterwards mentions another river, which, from

* Visit to the Churches, page 158.

† "Ες χάσμα γῆς ἐκβάλλων· ἔπειτα διὰ στάδιων ὡς μάλιστα κη πεντε ἀναφὰνομενος, ἐκδιδοι ες τὸν Μαιάνδρον."—*Herodotus*, lib. vii. cap. 30.

having its sources also in mount Cadmus, takes the name of the mountain. *This* river, he says, (not the Lycus, but the Cadmus,) flowing under ground, re-appears again, and after receiving other rivers, discharges itself, if I understand him, into the Lycus.

Most of the commentators of Strabo, recollecting the description given by Herodotus of the Lycus, have taken it for granted that Strabo is still speaking of that river, and describing its subterranean course; but the expression, ὁυτος ὑπὸ γῆς ῥευνεις, can only apply to the last-mentioned river, the Cadmus. *

* My correspondent of Denizli illustrates the course of the different streams by a plan; in which the Kiok Bounari flows down in the centre of the plain, between Hierapolis and Laodicea, and falls into the Meander; the stream which is in the centre of the plain between Khonas and Ak-khan bridge, and which falls into the Kiok Bounari, is the Tzoruk-sou, having the lateral streams of the Kouphos on the north, (the sources of which, called Chalki Bounari, or the petrifying spring, are at a short distance,) and the rivulet of Agios Panteleemon on the south. He places the head of the Tzoruk-sou at four hours east from Khonas.

The rivers in the vicinity of Laodicea and Colossæ are thus described by Strabo. "Ἐντᾶυθα δὲ ὁ Κάπρος, καὶ ὁ Λύκος συμβάλλει τῷ Μαιάνδρω ποταμῶ, ποταμὸς εὐμεγεθὴς· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῶ Λύκω Λαοδίκεια λέγεται. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως

There is another circumstance which identifies the Kiouk bonar with the Cadmus. The subterranean course of this stream is not a third of a mile—my Denizli friend says not a *quarter*; whereas that of the Lycus was five stadia, not far from three quarters of a mile—a distance agreeing very well with the interval after we saw the re-emergement of the St. Panteleemon stream and before we arrived at the stream nearer Khonas.

But if any further evidence was required to identify Khonas with Colossæ, it will be supplied by the testimonies of Nicetas, who being a native of Khonas, was called Choniates, and who expressly says that Khonas was anciently called Palassais, a mistake of the transcriber of his manuscript for Colassais; and both Nicetas and Curopalates mention the magnificent church of the Archangel Michael, its profanation and destruction by the Turks, and the subterranean course of the river Lycus at the same place.

ὀρὸς Κάδμος, ἔξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Ανκος ῥει· καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὀρει. Τὸ πλέον δ' ὀυτος ὑπὸ γῆς ρύνεις, εἶτ' ἀνακὐψας συνέπεσεν εἰς ταύτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ποταμοὶς, ἐμφαίνων ἅμα τὸ πολυτρήτον τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὸ ἐυσεισιον."—Lib. xii. cap. 8. page 75.

In addition to these, my friend Mr. Hartley shall give his evidence, and I value it the more, because, on our first journey, he was certainly not satisfied that Colossæ was really at Khonas, and much more inclined to look for that city about the sources of the Kiouk bonar.

"The Archangel Michael, called by the Greeks Taxiarches, is also an object of veneration. I have heard of some singular ideas arising from his worship at Colossæ, which bring into curious connexion the ancient historian Herodotus, the inspired apostle St. Paul, the primitive father Theodoret, and the modern Greek Synaxaria, or Legends.

"Herodotus informs us that, at Colossæ, the river Lycus falls into a cavity of the earth; and after proceeding under ground for a certain distance, re-appears, and pursues its course. St. Paul, in his epistle to the Colossians, (ii. 18,) offers warning in these terms: "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." Theodoret, in his comment on this passage, not only refers the worship of angels to the idea which had become prevalent, that the Deity was inaccessible, and

that it was proper to approach Him by some inferior mediator; but he asserts, that up to his own times, a church of the archangel Michael existed in Phrygia.

"The modern Greeks have a legend to this effect. An overwhelming inundation threatened to destroy the Christian population of that city. They were fleeing before it in the utmost consternation, and imploring superior succour for their deliverance. At this critical moment, the archangel Michael descended from heaven, *opened the chasm in the earth to which they still point*, and at this opening, the waters of the inundation were swallowed up and the multitude was saved.

"The great haste under which I was compelled to visit Colossæ prevented my actual observation of the cavity which receives the river Lycus; but I have heard from Greeks of a monastery dedicated to the Taxiarches, which was built, in commemoration of the event, at the entrance of the Lycus into the earth, and its remains are said to be still visible." *

The Byzantine historian Curopalates describing the manner in which the Turks profaned the far-

* Researches in Greece, page 52.

famed temple of the archangel at Khonas, filling it with blood, and converting it into a stable, goes on to describe the subterraneous channel of the river, which, no longer confined within the miraculous chasm opened by St. Michael, rose to an extraordinary height, and drowned multitudes both Turks and Greeks; an event regarded by the latter as a punishment for their sins. Now in this account the expression τοῦ χασματος σηραγγας, the sides or clefts of the chasm, applies well either to the mountain at the back of Khonas, or to the deep channel, through which the stream issuing from the cleft in the mountain passes and is lost.

But another remarkable word in this account identifies Khonas with Colossæ, and fixes the etymology of the former name. The river for which this cavity was opened by St. Michael, is spoken of as χωνευομενος, a word which describes its subterranean course, as χωνευτης is applied to another river, which has a subterranean channel, in Greece. Therefore Khonas, clearly from the same root, carries with it historical evidence of the χασμα γης noticed so early as the times of Herodotus, as existing at Colossæ.*

* Μηδε τας τοῦ χάσματος σηραγγας, ἐν ὥπερ οἱ παρρέοντες

After all this, it is scarcely necessary to add that my Greek correspondent of Denizli describes the ruins of the Taxiarches, or monastery of the archangel, as actually still existing at a very short distance in front, or to the north of the town, and between it and the re-emergement of the stream, called by the Greeks St. Panteleemon, but to which we shall take the liberty to restore its true name of the Lycus.

The names of the bishops of Colossæ, as they are given in the Oriens Christianus are.

Epaphras	Constantius
Philemon	Nicolaus, (1054)
Epiphanius	 1066
Cosmas	 1080
Doritheus	Nicetas.
Samuel	

ποταμοὶ ἐκεῖσε χωνεύομενοι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ παλαιᾶς ἐπιδημιας, καὶ θεοσημειας. *Curopalatæ Hist.* p. 652.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrive at Eski-hissar—Seriously ill, but walk to the ruins of Laodicea—Description of the site, and of two primitive churches—Bishops of Laodicea—Conveyed to Denizli in a buffalo cart—Leeches out of season—Illustrations of Scripture—Arabah conveyance to Sairakeuy—Cara Osman Cavalry—The Greek Papas and his hospitality—Holy loaves of St. Philip—Cross the Meander—Site of Carura—Miscalculation of distances, and consequently benighted—Arrival at Cushak.

At a quarter past eleven o'clock we crossed the river by a bridge, still continuing to descend, the plain lying yet considerably beneath us. When in this plain, the plain of Denizli, we left that town about half or three quarters of an hour on the left; our companions quitted us, and as we proceeded, we descended lower still, for the plain of the Lycus is much lower than that of Denizli. We arrived at Eski-hissar at one o'clock.

The exposure to the excessive cold to-day and

yesterday brought on a violent inflammatory attack, and when about half way between Chokour and Eski-hissar, it was with difficulty I could sit on my horse. All the male population of Eski-hissar were at Denizli, being the bazaar day; and it was not till after being recognized by one of the ladies, my old friends of six years' standing, that we were installed once more in the same apartment I had occupied in my first journey.

It had been improved; the horses were no longer in the same apartment, as formerly, but in making the wall of separation, a large aperture was left, sufficient to stretch over their heads and neck, and to ask "How do ye do?" Kyriacos went to Denizli to replenish his commissariat stores, while I, whose proper position should have been in bed, with more zeal for antiquities than prudence, accompanied Mr. Dethier to the ruins of Laodicea.

We made the complete circuit of the city, having previously passed along the aqueduct of which the ruins ran north and south in a small plain. Leaving this aqueduct on the right, we arrived at the western end of the amphithea-

tre, and ascended the hill on which stood the city.

There is a road that leads in this direction towards the plain of the Lycus and Hierapolis; and following it, after passing several masses of walls on the right and left, to which it would be difficult to restore the original designation, we crossed a great road running east and west, leading at its western extremity by a bridge, now in ruins, over a small river, probably the Caprus, and having an eastern direction towards Khonas. Probably this road passes by Ak-khan, and the Kiouk Bonar, and falls after into the Denizli road to Khonas. Very near this great road we saw one of the theatres, and in a more northerly direction afterwards another.

But my attention, ill as I felt, was altogether absorbed by some very considerable masses of wall and foundations, on the southern side of the great road, and, as well as I recollect, not far from the centre of the city. There appears much reason to believe that this was a church; probably, from its form and extent, the metropolitan or cathedral of Laodicea.

It differs from the other churches I have

already described, in having *two* semicircular projections on the eastern end, as if a double bema. There seems to have been a short *straight* wall between them, otherwise I should have conjectured that the *altar* occupied another and larger semicircle in the centre, projecting beyond these; and in that case, they would be the recesses which Paulinus calls *Sacretoriums;* one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of the altar. That on the right would be the *prothesis*, or *paratrapezon*, the side table, on which the offerings of the people were received, and out of which the bread and wine were taken to be consecrated at the altar. The other was for any of the priests, who might be disposed, to sit here and read the holy books.

I attempted a rough measurement by paces, and the result was, that the total length of the side walls, as far as the pronaos or portico, was about one hundred and sixty feet, the portico extending beyond them about forty more, making the total two hundred feet—the total breadth about one hundred feet: of this, the semicircular recesses were about eighteen feet each, and the

space between them, (where perhaps the larger recess for the altar stood,) twenty-two feet.

At the distance of about thirty-five feet from the eastern end was a wall across the breadth, in which were two door ways opposite to each of the circular recesses. This divided a space, which we might call the chancel, from the nave. There was a door into this space from each of the side walls, north and south.

The wall in which the great entrance gates must have been, was so encumbered with masses of the fallen building, that it was impossible to take any measurement; at least it was a matter of too much difficulty for me at the moment, though perhaps a future traveller, who may feel an equal interest in restoring the forms of edifices so identified with the earliest ages of Christianity, will be able to give to the public an infinitely more satisfactory account of these and similar temples elsewhere, than I have done.

On the northern side, at the distance of about forty feet, are four separate high masses of walls, each having remains of an arch. These seem to have been connected as *exedræ* to the church;

and still on the north side, some way beyond the termination of the portico, are remains of a circular building, which from its resemblance, and occupying the same relative position with the church, as that which I conjectured to have been a baptistery at Sagalassus, had possibly the same use.

At a short distance from this church, if I may venture to call it so, are other considerable remains, which having for the most part the same form, of two circular recesses at the eastern end, I should certainly consider to be another church—and in this, the space between the *two* circular recesses, is occupied by an angular projection, supporting the conjecture that in the former building as in this, *this* part, though angular externally, no doubt circular within, was the place of the grand altar.

This building, however, differs in its internal arrangement from the other, having, besides the wall in which were the great gates of entrance from the pronaos, the space between this and the eastern end divided by *two* walls, in which are open spaces as for doorways or arches, nearly in

a line with, and opposite to, each of the circular recesses.

The buildings, also, which in the former were attached to the northern wall, appear in this to have stood on the south side, and connected with the church, (if such it be,) by a large circular gateway at the upper or eastern end.*

I now joined Mr. Dethier, who had been in a different direction; and taking a very hasty view of some other remains, one of which was of a circular form, and another semicircular, as if an odeon, and a large mass of walls standing above the amphitheatre, and connected with it by an arched entrance, possibly a gymnasium, we quitted the ruins and returned to Eski-hissar.†

* Probably in one of these edifices were held the celebrated councils of Laodicea.

† "'Laodicea,' say Dr. Smith, 'called by the Turks Eski-hissar, or the Old Castle,) is situated upon six or seven hills, taking up a large compass of ground. To the north and north-east of it runs the river Lycus, at about a mile and a half distance, but more nearly watered by two little rivers, Asopus and Caper; whereof the one is to the west, the other to the south-east; both which pass into the Lycus, and that into the Meander. It is now utterly desolated, and without any inhabitants, except wolves, and jackalls, and foxes; but

Bishops of Laodicea as collected in the Oriens Christianus.

Archippus	Joannes.
Nymphas	Tyberius.
. . . . .	Eustathius,
Sagaris	Theodorus
Sisinnius I.	Sisinnius II.
Eugenius	Paulus
Nunechius I.	Simeon
Cecropius (hæreticus)	Michael (1082)
Nonnius	Basilius
Aristonicus	Theophylactes (1450.)
Nunechius II. (458)	

the ruins show sufficiently what it has been formerly, the three theatres and the circus adding much to the stateliness of it, and arguing its greatness. That whose entrance is to the north-east is very large, and might contain between twenty and thirty thousand men, having about fifty steps, which are about a yard broad, and a foot and a quarter in height one from another, the plain at the bottom being about thirty yards over. A second opens to the west; a third, a small one, (called by Chandler an odeum or music theatre,) to the south: the circus has about two-and-twenty steps, which remain firm and entire, and is above three hundred and forty paces in length from one end to the other, the entrance to the east. At the opposite extremity is a cave that has a very handsome arch, upon which we found an inscription, purporting, that the building occupied twelve years in the construction, was

I suffered severely from this fatiguing walk, and was compelled to make my bed at four

dedicated to Vespasian, and was completed during the consulate of Trajan in the 82nd year of the Christian æra.' What painful recollections are connected with this period! Twelve years were employed in building this place of savage exhibitions, and in the first of these years the temple of Jerusalem, which had been forty-eight years in building, was razed to its foundations, and of the Holy City not one stone was left upon another, which was not thrown down! This abomination of desolation was accomplished by him to whom this amphitheatre was dedicated, and may have been in honour of his triumph over the once favoured people of God. Perhaps in this very amphitheatre the followers of a crucified Redeemer were a few years afterwards exposed to the fury of wild beasts, by the order of the same Trajan, of whose character the predominant lines were clemency and benevolence.

"'It is an old observation, that the country about the Meander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing under ground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain or in the mud of the river; and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour compressed in the cavities, and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the peslilential grottoes, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded

o'clock, passing a very restless, distressing night.

Friday, Nov. 23.—By my indisposition, all our plans were deranged, and instead of going to Hierapolis, which I was very anxious to revisit, in order to examine with more attention the gymnasium, the mephytic cavern, and, above all, the three large churches, I was obliged to remain in bed, the apartment crowded to excess by all the Turks of the village, in endless succession coming and going, and stifling me with the smoke of their pipes.

A stable, under any circumstances, is but a sorry place for a sick bed, but to have it filled with such company, torturing me with a thousand foolish questions, was enough to give fever, if sufficient had not existed already. To my

as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of these mountains perhaps has burned; and it may be suspected, that the surface of the country, Laodicea in particular, has in some places been formed from its own bowels.' To a country such as this how awfully appropriate is the message of the Apocalypse: 'I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.'"

Visit to the Churches, p. 85.

friend Dethier. I was indebted for a thousand kind acts: he tried patiently to make acetate of lead by beating shot thin as paper, and boiling them in vinegar, &c.

Though it was not part of our original plan to go to Denizli, yet, as the accommodations of a khan are at all times better than a stable, we determined to go there; but I was too ill to go either on foot or on horseback. The only conveyance was a carriage; but how or where find a carriage among the ruins of Laodicea? The Roman proconsul no longer existed, or we might have thrown ourselves upon his charity, and perhaps have been accommodated with a chariot of state.

However, we did find a carriage, and with it I made my entré into Denizli, and if not with proconsular dignity, yet with sufficient importance to attract the eyes of all the good folks of the town.

A Turk of Eski-hissar was yoking a pair of buffaloes to his plough, and finding that another was the proprietor of an arabah, my friends immediately concluded a contract, by which the

buffaloes were unyoked from the plough, and harnessed to the arabah to convey me to Denizli.

An arabah, for the information of such of my readers as have never seen one, is composed of two or three planks, neither wide nor smooth, fixed on two solid blocks of wood about four feet diameter, and which being something like round, are dignified with the name of wheels. This machine serves for all the purposes of the farm and market; and to prevent the contents from slipping off the narrow planks, two side wings are occasionally fixed, consisting of two or more other planks, and forming, with the bottom of the carriage, a very obtuse angle, on either side, and about four or more feet high.

In this machine, mattresses and paplomas being tastefully arranged, the good-natured black steeds conveyed me with as much care and tenderness as they could, with now and then some terrible jogs, to Denizli, not at the rate of a steam carriage between Liverpool and Manchester, but at all events, at about two miles and a half the hour.

On arriving, and being lodged in the khan, my

friends went in search of what Eski-hissar did not afford, but which we calculated on finding in abundance in the large town of Denizli—*leeches*. They came back disappointed. There were doctors upon doctors in the place, that is to say, barber surgeons, and even one M. D. with a Frank hat, but not a single leech had been heard of since the month of May. About that season, I was told, how truly I pretend not to say, that *leeches* are in vast request, bleeding being the order of the day; and the whole population, whether really in fever, or intending to be so, leech themselves most unmercifully; after which, the poor operators, or the survivors of them, enjoy complete holiday till the following year.

They went out again to engage another arabah to convey me to Guzel-hissar; for our Eski-hissar friends were too busy about their tillage to take a longer journey. They returned again disappointed; not an arabah could be found in Denizli.

The prospect of being detained here, perhaps, till the winter rains fell, was not very consolatory; and it would be absurd not to admit that

I began to feel a little uneasy ; resigning myself, at the same time, to the will of God, to be dealt with as he thought fit. We had written letters to our friends in Smyrna, and it was another disappointment to find no other opportunity of forwarding them than by a camel caravan, which would not arrive in less than nine days!

Saturday, Nov. 24.—Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos went again this morning to Eski-hissar, to prevail, if possible, on our friends there to accompany us to Guzel-hissar, but neither arabah nor buffaloes could be parted with ; and while Kyriacos returned to me with the discouraging intelligence, Mr. Dethier went on to Hierapolis, where he made numerous sketches.

Towards the afternoon, Milcom introduced a Turk into my apartment, the proprietor of an arabah, and after a little bargaining, he engaged to convey me to Guzel-hissar in four days, for one hundred and forty piastres, at the present exchange about one pound fifteen shillings. His first demand being, as usual, about double that sum.

The day passed gloomily enough in bed, and the peculiarity of my situation, on a sick bed in a khan, would have given rise to many a dis-

tressing thought, if I had not endeavoured to divert them by the following and similar reflections.

It has already been attempted to illustrate the "camel passing through the eye of a needle," and at the time when this remarkable expression was used, our Lord was in a *certain village*, for in the preceding chapter it is said that "as he went to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee; and that he entered into a certain village." Comparing, then, the usages of former times with those of the present day, our Lord and his attendants, as travellers, could only be accommodated in the public caravansera, or khan, where indeed is found nothing more than shelter, as all the accommodation is a room with not a single article of furniture within it; and very frequently in a country village, many travellers are lodged in the same room, but if not, in the same khan, probably in those days, as now, having an open area with chambers all round it.

This open space is commonly occupied by camels and camel-drivers, who usually *live* and sleep in the open air with the camels. No one can have been often in one of these places without observing the camel-driver sitting on his

heap of camel furniture, and either repairing it after his arrival, or putting it in order for continuing his journey. Our Lord then had a scene before him, familiar and striking to the eyes of those whom he addressed.

I cannot resist the inclination to point out how much more of our Lord's discourse on this occasion may be illustrated by the same very probable, almost certain, supposition that he was actually lodged, as a traveller, in a khan.

Before he came to it, as he was at the *entrance* of the village, he cured the lepers. They were at the entrance of the village, not permitted by the Mosaic law to be within it; and the wretched victims of the same loathsome disease may be seen at any time, *without* the city of Smyrna and other towns, sitting by the wayside and imploring charity.

The allusion to the lightning might have been taken from its actual appearance at the moment, being of continual occurrence in the summer months; and the flat-roofed chambers of the khan, upon which probably were many persons seated at the moment, from the connexion with the adjoining houses, afforded a figure of more

expeditious flight than by descending into the area, and escaping by the door of the khan; and if any proof of this is wanted, the dreadful earthquake at Aleppo in 1822 will abundantly supply it; for multitudes saved their lives by passing from roof to roof by the terraces, while those who went down into the streets were crushed to death by the falling houses.

The figure of two men in one bed, is every moment before the eyes of a lodger in a khan, where the wearied camel drivers, and caterdjis, are reposing on the ground, not in a fore-post bedstead, but wrapt up in their benishes, or thick white felt cloaks, their only bed and bedding.

The women laboriously turning round the ponderous stone in the olive-mill, or the more portable stones of a corn-mill, must have been an every-day sight, either within or at the door of the khan; and no one has been in an eastern climate who has not witnessed the horrible *tameness* with which the vultures (or eagles) will approach the habitations of men, attracted by the dead carcases, so revoltingly left upon the spot where they have died. "Whithersoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together."

In the evening we were extremely uneasy at the absence of Mr. Dethier and Suleiman. It grew dark: six o'clock, and half past six, and he did not appear. I had given Milcom orders to go to the aga, and request he would send out some of his men in search of him, when he arrived. He had been detained outside the walls, the gates being all shut, and had made the entire circuit of the town: refused admittance at some of the gates, till the guardians of one were more kind-hearted at the sight of a few piastres.*

While Mr. Dethier, separated from Suleiman, was examining the ruins of Hierapolis, he was awe-struck at finding the death-like solitude of the place, disturbed by the deep groans of a person in distress; he listened, and the groans were repeated, and deeper and deeper. The sounds evidently proceeded from beneath the spot on which he was standing. Advancing a few yards, he saw the entrance of a vaulted passage—pro-

* I have at different times purchased small collections of medals from the coin-venders of Denizli, and they generally consisted of Laodicea, Hierapolis, Tripolis, Tabæ, Aphrodisia, Attalia, Apamea, Cibyra. The coins of Colossæ and Themisonium, though these towns are not more remote from Denizli than some of the others, are of very rare and unusual occurrence.

bably this was among the vast ruins of the gymnasium; the sounds were faint from distance, but they were more frequent, as if the sufferings of the individual from whom they proceeded, and the danger of his situation, were considerably increased.

Mr. Dethier looked around in every direction; not a human being was to be seen any where—not even Suleiman—and yet these were clearly the groans of a person in deep distress. Without farther reflection, his humanity at once suggested the duty of endeavouring to rescue a fellow-creature, who, from some unknown cause, was evidently in need of his assistance. He entered the vaulted passage, or looked down from an aperture from above, I forget which—the sounds were repeated, and stronger and stronger.

He perceived something moving within the vault, and succeeded in getting sufficiently near to distinguish the object of his humane anxiety. It was not a fellow-man, but a buffalo calf which, enticed by the warm spring above, had ventured too near an aperture, and fallen down into the vault. Mr. Dethier succeeded in releasing the poor animal, whose gratitude, no doubt, if he

could have expressed it, would have been in proportion to the obligation.

Sunday, Nov. 25.—My journal of to-day commences, "Another sabbath, and, instead of being at my post in Smyrna, unable to move from an horizontal position; by an affection which may perhaps disable me from ever returning thither." Notwithstanding this gloomy anticipation, we left Denizli at a quarter past ten.

The voiture was arranged with some dari straw on the unsmooth planks; a mattrass rolled up to support the back, and that propped by an enormous sack-full of provender for the buffaloes; two paplomas covered the dari straw. When all the interior was arranged, I walked with difficulty to the gate of the Greek khan, and seated myself. The movement over the stones was horrible, and continued for a considerable way beyond the town. Among the sainted names of Epaphras, and St. Michael, St. George, and St. Demetrius, gladly would I have placed M'Adam.

When we had proceeded some distance, clouds of dust, of which there was quite enough before, announced the approach of some distinguished personages, and from the disturbance they gave

the road, and the speed with which they rode, it was evident that their object was an urgent one. They soon overtook us, nor did they condescend to tarry long with us. They announced themselves as some of the *brave* cavaliers of Cara Osman Oglou, flying with all the speed of their horses' heels from Ibrahim Pasha, who entered Konia ten days ago, just a day or two after we quitted Galandos; so that we were within three or four days' march of his highness; and had we gone on to Konia, as we proposed, we should have had the honour of entering that city on the same day with him.

The view of Hierapolis was constantly in sight, and as our sedate mode of travelling gave ample space for observation, it was perpetually tantalizing me. The terrace, on which the city stood, extended apparently several miles; and behind the largest of the petrifactions, high up in the mountain side, is a deep recess far into the mountain.

Perhaps it was in this recess that Chandler discovered the stadium. If Mr. Cockerell had not discovered the Plutonium, or mephytic cavern, near the theatre, the position anciently assigned to it, I should have ventured to suppose it lay within

this recess; for the experiments made in the former do not seem conclusive. *

It was twenty minutes past four when we came to Sairikeuy. Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos rode on before me, and were fortunate in doing so. The new khan was crowded with people, and music was sounding in every direction. It was the celebration of a marriage. We could make no interest with the khanji, for the khan had a different master since our first journey. It was not with better effect that we used the name of Panairetos, the archbishop of Philadelphia, and spoke of the kind manner in which we had been received and lodged by him.

It seemed probable that we were destined to

* It was a serious disappointment not to have been able to see and take the plans of the three churches at Hierapolis. I can only give the list of bishops from the Oriens Christianus.

Heros.	Auxanon.
Papias.	Sisinnius
Abercius I.	Ignatius.
Abercius II.	Nicon.
Claudius Apollonaris.	Arseber, 997.
Flaccus.	—— 1066.
Lucius.	——
Abonentius.	Georgius.
Stephanus.	—— In the time of the emperor
Abercius III.	Isaac Angelus.

pass the night in the court of the khan, when a priest, who had known Mr. Hartley and myself, kindly offered us his own chamber, that is, the moiety, for the other was occupied by himself. The adjoining apartment was fitted up as the church.

We were soon visited by crowds; it would appear all the friends and cousins of bridegroom and bride, who were anxious to show their respects to the priest's guests, if not with a little itching of curiosity, and a wish to display their smart clothes, and the gold streamers floating from the button-holes. Extended on my bed, suffering much, and unable to speak, I would gladly have dispensed with their visits.

Monday, Nov. 26.—Whether or no our brethren of the Greek church are quite as orthodox as ourselves, I will not here venture to inquire; but certainly they are much earlier at their devotions than most of my Protestant friends. When I had the honour of sleeping in the metropole or palace of the archbishop Panairetos at Philadelphia, our slumbers were considerably shortened by the passage of several priests through our apartment, to go to the bishop's long before day, previous to the morning service.

To day, our good priest rose long before day, and lighting a candle from the nearly expiring lamp that was burning before the *Panagia*, he went out and came in fifty times, always intent on his morning prayers, which he continued to repeat in a half audible tone and pretty quick rate, without intermission, except when, as a sort of recitative, he scolded a poor Greek boy, and that was not unfrequently, for his tardiness in doing his work.

We afterwards heard the chaunting of the mass for the festival of St. Philip. This good saint obliged us very much, for he gave us a loaf of excellent bread,—that is, a holy loaf which had received the priest's benediction, having been marked with the holy seal, I . X . NIKA, before it was sent to the oven.

It seems, that on every saint's day, all persons bearing the same name, that is, all who have the honour to be born on the saint's day, for they are baptized by the same name, as my friend Kyriacos, because born on a Sunday, was baptized after the name of that day, make an offering of a loaf to the priest; so as there are numerous Philips in Sairikeuy, to one of these, through Kyriacos's good offices with the priest, we were

indebted for our loaf. It must not be concealed, that in the first instance, the priest sent us half a one, and that mouldy; but as this neither suited our appetites nor taste, Kyriacos speedily prevailed upon him to pay a better compliment to our discernment.

Among our visitors was a native of the island of Samos, evidently a man above the common class of his countrymen, and who took much kind interest in my indisposition, providing us with leeches to take with us. He was lately returned from Constantinople, where he had conversed, by his own account, with the ambassadors on the affairs of Samos; and declared the determination of every Samiote to die, rather than return again under the Turkish rule.

However exaggerated this may appear, it is supported by the fact that the Samiotes even yet refuse to submit; and the formidable fleet which is about to sail against the obstinate islanders, will probably inflict a severe chastisement. The friends of humanity must tremble at the recollection of Scio and Ipsara; but the times are happily changed, and the sanguinary horrors which stained the earlier days of the Greek revolution are not likely to occur again.'

We left the apartment of our hospitable papas, at twenty minutes before nine, with *ice* thick in every direction where there was a drop of water, and at half-past nine came to the wooden scaffolding, called a bridge, over the Meander.

As the arabah could not be *drawn* over this long wooden machine, and I had no wish to be thrown into the river if it could—for the Meander was wide, at least twenty feet deep, and rushing down with the impetuosity of a tremendous torrent—I walked over, and the arabah was afterwards drawn across by the united efforts of the arabahji, Milcom and Suleiman; and the buffaloes, not a little alarmed, for the fabric shook under their heavy tread, were at length prevailed on to follow.

At twelve o'clock, being now on the opposite bank of the river from my first journey, we crossed a stream flowing down into the Meander, which had the strong taste of *sal ammonia*, and a great deal of the salt itself was whitening the ground. It was subsequently analysed at Smyrna, and decided to be the native salt.

Our conducteur, the arabahji, assured us there were *hummums*, or hot baths, a little way on the mountain on the right, as well as on the opposite

or south side of the river; for we were now opposite to the *hot springs* from which so much vapour is always rising in three or four directions. Another *white patch*, exactly similar to that at Hierapolis, is visible on the mountain side high above the vapours; and on the left of the high peak adjoining, we saw something glittering, either a cascade or frozen water.

It cannot be much matter of surprise that no vestiges are known to exist of the site of Carura, the Cydrara of Herodotus, celebrated for its hot baths, and the boundary of Caria and Phrygia, if the tradition be true, that while a large company were revelling in one of the khans, it underwent the awful punishment of Dathan and Abiram, being swallowed up by an earthquake.*

It was near one o'clock when we passed the hut of the Ferry lying down on the left, and from thence had a long and tedious ride, till we reached a café where we had purposed to conac. It was probably near four o'clock,

* A correction of the distances on the Tabular Itinerary has already been suggested; and there is much reason to believe the VI over Carura should be XVI, which would then be just the distance between that place and Antioch on the Meander; and the XX, following Carura, would be nearly the real distance between Carura and Laodicea.

for arabah travelling is not the most expeditious. The café was already full of guests, and Mr. Dethier proposed, on the recommendation of the arabahji, to go on to another, said to be very good, and at only two hours' distance.

I doubted the fact, having no recollection of any such café, but as the arabahji was positive, with the addition that a village lay very near it, at a short distance on the right, which he said had still better accommodations, I assented, but with much reluctance; and our arabah and buffaloes, palanks and paplomas, were once more in motion.

We travelled, and travelled on and on: it became dark — the two hours, and three hours, and four hours had gone by, but no café as yet appeared. At last we came to a miserable hut, deserted, which was declared to be the café so long desired. We now stretched our eyes, as well as darkness would permit, to find the village with its superior accommodation, declared by the arabahji to be only ten minutes off.

Alas! we rode and rode, on and on, but no village was to be seen, though we were now and then deceived by the fires of Eurukes, on right and on left, and the flickering flame running along the

mountain side among the brush wood, like the ignition of detached trains of gunpowder.* We travelled on almost in despair, till another hut by the road side, reminded the arabahji, (whose eyes were better than mine, for I could neither see café, hut, nor any thing else,) that we were near the town of Cujak or Cushak.

Kyriacos and Milcom went on in advance, and when we arrived at half-past nine, after thirteen hours' march, we found they had prevailed on the proprietor of a stable to allow us to sleep therein with our horses and buffaloes; for every other house had been shut for hours. Supplied with wood for a fire, Milcom roasted our goat's flesh on a wooden spit, and at midnight we retired to rest, which our animals, not separated as at Eski-hissar, threatened more than once to disturb, by walking over us.

* No one who has seen this almost every-day sight of the fire in the mountains, and which is done partly by the Euruke charcoal burners, and more frequently merely to clear the ground, can forget the eighty-third Psalm, verse 14th: "As the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire."

CHAPTER IX.

Police interrogation—Robbers hung near Nosli bazaar—Village of Ak-chay—The Zebek leader Kel Mehmet—Ruins of Nysa—Attention of Cara Osman Oglou to the safety of travellers—Meandering course of the Arabah—Arrive at Guzel-hissar—The drunken Dervish—Cara Osman Oglou—Pedigree of his family—Treatment of the family by Ibrahim Pasha—Murder of the Aga of Cassaba.

Tuesday, Nov. 27.—Though we rose refreshed, one of our bed-fellows was destined to rise no more. We had frequently, during the night, heard the moans as of a person in distress. It was a poor ass lying near us in the last agonies.

We left Cujak at a quarter before nine, but had not proceeded far when the Turkish authorities, whoever they were, for aga there was none, peremptorily demanded to see our passports. The baggage horse was obliged to be unloaded, and I had the trouble of unpacking my portmanteau

to find the firman. However, the teskeray was thought sufficient, and the firman was returned to its place. The great men declared themselves satisfied, and they would not have been more so if they had seen the firman, as they could not have read a word of it.

It was ten minutes after twelve when we came to Nosli Bazaar. The place seemed a desert, not a single individual to be seen. My companions being in advance, rode to the larger town of the same name on the left, and soon overtook my voiture with some excellent chalva.

Previously to entering Nosli, the arabah passing close to a large walnut-tree, brought me into close and unexpected contact with the body of a young man hanging from one of the branches. A short way out of the town of Nosli, we saw another body of an older man, hung from a branch of another walnut-tree, but so low that his feet just touched the ground. Several Turks were stationed at a short distance, guarding the body, and we learnt that two others which we had not seen, were hanging on the road from Cujak.

This part of the country had for a considerable time been infested with robbers, and the travelling dangerous; and it was somewhere on this road that Lady Franklin and Dr. Clarke were, in the last autumn, prevented by an aga from advancing, feeling that he would be held responsible for their safety. The robbers, who had been executed last night or to-day, were part of this gang, and the deserted appearance of Nosli was accounted for, as well as the strict examination we had undergone from the constituted authorities of Cujak.

The hills on the right, all along this road, have a singular concave appearance; resembling exactly ruined theatres with the seats removed. The same singular low micacious sand-hills *belted* the higher back ranges, as we had seen at Sardis, Hierapolis, Bourdour, &c.

The weather brightened; it became the heat of summer, with a cloudless sky. We took coffee at a guard-house, at twenty minutes past one o'clock, and met armed men patrolling in all directions. The burial-ground with so many fragments was not far from this; and at two o'clock

the village of Isaybeylee lay in far on the right, at an opening of the mountain.

We intended to sleep at Cush or Cusk, about three or four hours farther on; but our arabahji declared that his buffaloes, after their thirteen hours' march of yesterday, could not go so far, and we stopped at the village of Ak-chay, or, according to the orthography of Kyriacos, Achtza, at twenty minutes before three, and after our stable accommodation of last night, were most agreeably surprised to find a capital cafinet, with all the luxuries of milk, caimak, &c. The rebel leader of the Zebeks, Kel Mehmet, was from this village.

This extraordinary man, like Tamerlane and Ibrahim Pasha, constituted himself the reformer of existing abuses; but with this remarkable difference in his favour, that whilst the former, at least the Egyptian Pasha, used this pretext as a cloak for the promotion of selfish and ambitious objects; the Kel Mehmet gave no evidence of his being otherwise than what he professed to be.

Major Keppel gives the following account of this man, and his followers; and it is the best

account I have heard of them. "The Zebeks, like the Swiss, are a band of mercenary mountaineers, employed, as were the Albanians, in the capacity of body-guards to the pasha. They formed also a kind of guard in the coffee-houses, and had a right to levy a tax upon the traveller, for the protection they afforded him on the road. This sum, though trifling, was sufficient for their subsistence, and was willingly given by those from whom it was demanded. About the time of the extinction of the janissaries, the government forbade their attendance on the coffee-houses; by which a large body of armed men were turned loose upon the community. The Zebeks afterwards refused to pay a war tax, continued after the peace was concluded, and were soon completely organised under their chief, who had the title of Kel Mehmet. This man's name was Kootchook Mehmed Aga-hadji, "Little Mehmed Aga the pilgrim."

His followers at first did not amount to sixty, but they rapidly increased to many thousands; and from refusing, in the first instance, to pay the war tax, they declined all contributions that did not go directly into the

coffers of the grand seignior. The agas of many villages were deposed, and the followers of the Kel Mehmet placed in their stead, and it is remarkable that prosperity followed in the villages where such changes were made. The Kel Mehmet had the reputation of being a just but severe man, and soon acquired a large extent of territory.

Like Ibrahim Pasha, he even fixed his head quarters at Guzel-hissar, and sent a detachment to take possession of Cassaba: at length, after many an unsuccessful struggle against the forces of the government, they were defeated and dispersed, and Cara Osman Oglou was most instrumental in this dispersion, as he was most interested in it; the most active scene of the Zebek rebellion being within his own government.

Wednesday, Nov. 28.—We passed an excellent night, and by the kindness of an ever-compassionate God, I was much better this morning. Ak-chay is supposed by Pococke to occupy the site of Briula; but on inquiring about the numerous fragments in the burial-ground, I was told they were brought from Sultan-hissar. On the fountain is a marble with a cross and letters, probably from the church of Nysa.

My *conducteur* last night said it was impossible to proceed farther than this place; but when he asked for forty piasters this morning, I found he had other motives besides the inability of his steeds. The neighbourhood of Ak-chay abounds with chesnut-trees, and to load his arabah with a back freight of chesnuts was not an unprofitable speculation. Very probably, too, *terror* after the sight of the hanging robbers, gave him a preference for travelling by day-light.

A short way out of the village, which we left at half-past eight, we saw in the burial-ground two circular mausoleums, with a tomb, and lighted lamps in each; whether the tombs of saints, or of some distinguished family, we did not learn. At a quarter before nine we came to a café, with a circular building near it, for the charitable distribution of water to the weary and thirsty traveller. We crossed a stream at half-past nine or a quarter before ten, and came to a café and some houses.

Shortly after the ruins of Nysa are seen, high in the mountain ravine on the right. At ten o'clock there was another café in the road, and at half-past ten another called Kete-café. More

properly, these should be called guard houses, for though they supply the traveller with the usual luxuries of pipes and coffee, yet they have been erected lately by Cara Osman Oglou, for the better protection of the road.

It was ten minutes after twelve when we arrived at Cush, or Cusk. Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos had preceded, and were waiting for the slower advance of the buffalo chariot. At twenty minutes after one we passed a watercourse with a few houses, and at ten minutes before two a fountain. At twenty minutes past two was another café; at thirty-five minutes past two *another*, and fountain; and at twenty minutes before four, *another*, and houses. I particularise them so minutely in order to show the attention paid by Cara Osman Oglou to the safety and comfort of travellers, as they approach the seat of his government, for the fountains as well as cafés have been built at his expense. The road all the way was excellent, though ancle deep in dust.

Inclosures of fruit trees, especially of fig-trees, probably of the species held in so much esteem by the ancients, called *Antiochene*, and three-

leafed,* were on both sides of the road; the mountains on the right, *belted* as before, in front, by low hills, *pointed*, and of every form and colour, resembling, as before, sand-hills. If some of these had not been too elevated, I should have supposed the land had *sunk* between them and the Meander, leaving these detached fragments, which, full of micacious particles, resemble altogether the ground over which the road passes.

It was now growing dark, and Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos rode on to Guzel-hissar, to prevent the gates being shut against us, or to get them opened, if closed. Milcom, who remained with me, led the buffaloes a dance up and down mountain-side and vale, right and left; for, by his unhappy facility always to prefer a wrong road to the right one, he had diverted the poor animals out of their straightforward correct course and level road, into the more picturesque than pleasant one, which his lively imagination liked best.

* I think this is improperly translated, and that instead of *three-leafed*, Strabo meant to say that each leaf was divided into three segments, for I have often seen fig-trees of that description.

It was now pitchy dark, and we were still meandering up and down the mountain-side, and might have done so all night, if a Turk had not put us in the right road we had quitted. It was between five and six when we arrived at Guzel-hissar; the gates were shut, but as we were expected, they were as readily opened; and we made our way through the streets, till they became too narrow to permit the arabah to pass. The attempt, notwithstanding, was made, and we soon stuck fast between the projecting shop-boards of opposite houses.

At this moment, a Dervish, apparently much intoxicated, made a great noise, demanding money in a very insolent tone, and opposing our further advance. This was unnecessary, for the carriage was firm as the ark upon Ararat. However, as the man was extremely troublesome, I bawled to him to get out of the way, with as much Turkish as I was master of, and finally succeeded in getting rid of him. The khan was still at a considerable distance, and several steep streets to be ascended; but there was no alternative; therefore saying good night to the buffaloes and arabahji, I walked, though with difficulty, to the khan.

When very near the great gate, I was surprised to find my friend the Dervish again by my side; he whispered in my ear, *Hosh gelde*, "you are welcome," in a tone which was not only that of a man most perfectly sober, but of much civility and respect. It is probable he was in disguise; a spy, either of the sultan, or of Cara Osman Oglou; perhaps even the latter himself. This is the more probable, as the successes and advance of Ibrahim Pasha were known at Guzel-hissar; and the unusual occurrence of travellers arriving after the gates were shut, and demanding that they should be opened, would naturally excite, or ought to excite, the suspicions and investigation of a good governor. It was a very short time afterwards that the sultan's authority actually ceased in Guzel-hissar. The governor was displaced by Ibrahim Pasha, and one of his partizans, supported by a strong Egyptian force appointed in his stead.

If it was really Cara Osman Oglou, times are changed since the founder of his house lived here; and though he was proprietor of the khan, we neither called upon him nor sent him presents. Such want of respect would not have

passed off so easily formerly, for we are told by Van Egmont, that his first business on arriving at Guzel-hissar was to send presents early in the morning to the pasha, "being warned by the example of some Dutch merchants, who travelling here, with the late Dr. Franklin, chaplain of the prison, were thrown into confinement by the pasha, under pretence that they were spies; though the true intention was to extort money rom them. But the gentlemen of Smyrna espoused their cause so zealously, that they soon procured an order from the Porte for their discharge, and the pasha was deposed. We, however, thought it advisable to purchase the favour of this officer by valuable presents, especially as he was pasha both of the city and adjacent country, and therefore it would have been very improper to offer him trifles."

This pasha was no other than the ancestor of Cara Osman Oglou, and the description of him by Van Egmont is the following: "This pasha, who is dignified with two horse-tails, and is also *teftesti*, or governor of the country, is called Osman Oglou, and is the same who some years since made all Natolia tremble, as captain of a

corps of banditti, consisting of four thousand horsemen, with which he overrun the country, raising contributions from persons of fortune, and committing all manner of violences. The Grand Seignior, however, at length pardoned him, possibly more out of fear than any other motive, and conferred on him this post, which is very considerable."

The reader may be curious to know what the presents were that were considered worthy of being offered to this distinguished personage. "To the pasha himself, three boxes of sweetmeats, three of prunelles, three okes of pepper, three okes of coffee, and two of sugar; to the pasha's caiaja, or lieutenant, an oke of sugar, one of pepper, one of coffee, a box of prunelles, and another of sweetmeats; to the capilarcajacisgi, an oke of coffee, one of pepper, and one of sugar; and to the two chaous, two piastres each, and the same to the oglancicler."

The family of Cara Osman Oglou, distinguished alike by their power and their misfortunes, are historically described in the following lines of Lord Byron:

We Moslem reck not much of blood,
But yet the line of Carasman,
Unchanged, unchangeable, hath stood
First of the bold Timariot bands
That won, and well can keep their lands.

And his lordship adds, in a note: "Carasman Oglou, or Carà Osman Oglou, is the principal landholder in Turkey; he governs Magnesia; those who, by a kind of feudal tenure, possess land on condition of service, are called Timariots: they serve as spahis, according to the extent of territory, and bring a certain nunber into the field, generally cavalry."

It would be inferred from the above, that the line of Carasman had "stood unchanged and unchangeable" for a period almost coëval with the prophet himself; but by the account of Van Egmont, it clearly appears that the foundation of all the territorial consequence of the family was not of earlier date than a few years previous to the travels of Van Egmont.

As civilization has not advanced so far in the Ottoman empire, notwithstanding Tactico uniform, and the court dresses *à la Parisienne*, recently introduced, as to have a college of arms,

or parish registers, we must endeavour to sketch a pedigree from the incidental notices of travellers.

1. KARA OSMAN OGLOU, born about 1670.

2. Kara Osman Oglou, born about 1700.

3. Kara Osman Oglou, born probably about 1730.

4. Kara Osman Oglou, probably born about 1755.

2nd brother, the present governor of Magnesia.

5. Kara Osman Oglou, living, aged about 50, therefore born about 1783.

1. Van Egmont describes Osman Oglou, governor of Guzel-hissar and the neighbouring country, as a very graceful person, and between fifty and sixty years of age, about the year 1720.

2. Of this Osman Oglou I can find no account; but evidently there must have been this descent between the last and the following.

3. Hasselquist, when at Magnesia in 1750, says of this person: "The Musselim was so *young*, that his whiskers had but just begun to

grow, and was therefore early enough appointed to such a considerable employment. Cara Osman Oglou, one of the most remarkable persons at this time under the Turkish government, was his father. He had found means to get the command over all this part of Natolia, which reaches from Smyrna to Brusa, and had, at the change the Turkish emperor made *this year*, 1750, amongst his officers, prevailed so far as to be appointed musselim of Magnesia, where he put his son in his room, and sent his son-in-law, who had hitherto been in Magnesia, to Smyrna. Himself lived in Kyragatch, a village two days journey from Magnesia, where are the richest and finest cotton plantations in Natolia. He could immediately raise twenty thousand men, which were under his command; and it was rumoured that his revenue was twelve thousand piastres a-day." *

This must be the person described by Dr. Chandler, when he was at Guzel-hissar, as the "Basha, an important officer with eight agas, each with a retinue of one hundred men in the town, awaiting his commands. We had a re-

* Hasselquist's Travels.

commendatory letter to his mohardar, or treasurer, which was delivered, with the present of a handsome snuff-box, and graciously received (by the treasurer.) He promised to mention us to the basha, but his engagements were many, &c. The basha was then at enmity, and after at open war, with some leading men in that part of the country." *

4. It must be this person of whom Mr. Dallaway gives so high a character for good government; because he mentions his payment of a large fine to the sultan on a *late demise*; by which it would appear that the Cara Osman of Hasselquist was *then* dead, (about 1795,) and succeeded by the person eulogised by Mr. Dallaway. He describes the extent of territory granted to him as a square of two hundred and fifty miles in the heart of Anatolia, with the cities of Pergamus and Magnesia; that he can raise sixty thousand men; and that upon a *late* renewal of the charter or firman, which is required upon each *demise*, three thousand purses, about one

* Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor.

hundred thousand pounds sterling, were demanded and easily paid." *

When Mr. Hunter was at Kirgagatch in 1792, he says, that the *father* of the then head of the Cara Osman Oglou family had his property confiscated by the sultan, and, if I do not mistake, put to *death*. That the son, wise from so terrible an example, never would accept the offers of dignities made him by the sultan, and thereby escaped the danger of the father; and in a note, written evidently some time after the above, it is said that the *son* of the last, (grandson, of course, of the former, the father being *dead*,) made his peace, for the present, with the Porte, by giving an immense sum of money.

If Cara Osman Oglou can claim his descent from a person mentioned in the following extract from the life of Timur Bec, Lord Byron's *high* descent of the family would be established, otherwise it can have no existence.

" They brought to court the emir Mahomed, son of Caraman, who had for twelve years been kept in chains by Bajacet; Timur honoured him

* Dallaway's Constantinople.

with a vest and belt, gave him the government of all the provinces of Caramania, with Iconium, Laranda, Acserai, (Aksher,) Anzarza, Alaya, and their dependencies; and through the protection of our monarch, all these provinces remained without opposition in the hands of this emir, and after him in his children." *

But this is clearly the Seljukian Prince Caraman, and cannot be identified with Cara Osman Oglou.

Before I mention the treatment of the present family by Ibrahim Pasha, and the tragical fate of a venerable old man connected with them, I will revert again to the curious parallel between Ibrahim and Tamerlane.

" The emperor (Tamerlane) afterwards went in two days (from Sevri-hissar) to Kutaieh, a delightful town, as well for the pureness of the air, and the charming taste of the fruits, as for the beauty of its pleasure houses, and the number of its fountains. As this place exceedingly pleased him, he stayed here a month, and granted quarter to the inhabitants, on paying the accus-

* History of Timur Bec, page 285.

tomed ransom to his commissaries, who at the same time seized on the goods which Timour Tach had laid up for a long time in this place. He sent the Mirza Charac to Ghulissar, (*Guzel-hissar*,) Estanous, and Keter.

"Timur, highly pleased with the conquest of Natolia, (and the taking the Ottoman emperor prisoner,) resolved to make solemn feasts and rejoicings, to recreate himself after the fatigues of war. The most beautiful ladies of the court were at these diversions, where the best wines of Asia were drunk, and the musicians performed extraordinarily.

"In the mean time, the troops sent out to make inroads, plundered and ravaged all Natolia. The meanest soldier became in a manner a great lord, by the booty he had gained: and he who before had not a single horse, was now master of several stables thronged with them. The whole army returned thanks to their Creator, who had enriched them!!"*

Mutatis mutandis, what can be a more correct picture of the residence and operations of Ibrahim Pasha while at the same place? But he

* Hist. of Timur Bec, p. 260.

found it too tempting a spot to quit in so short a time, and instead of a little month, sojourned there for several. He did not, it is true, take the Ottoman emperor prisoner, thanks to his imperial brother, the autocrat of all the Russias, who kindly stepped in, when the English and French had too much delicacy to interfere; but certainly it was not without the best intentions and longings on the part of Ibrahim to try the air of the Bosphorus and the charms of the seraglio.

The writer regrets much that he was deprived by indisposition of an opportunity to judge by personal observation of the accuracy of this parallel in other particulars. Mr. Cohen, a near connexion of Baron Rothschild, very kindly invited him to pay a visit to the camp of Kutaieh; and as Mr. Cohen was personally known to the pasha, having accompanied the army on their march from Syria, there was no doubt of our being well received; with the additional but extraordinary advantage, that Mr. Cohen was furnished with a teskeray or travelling firman from Ibrahim, which procured him horses and every other attention all along the road free of expense, when

the sultan's firman, in his own territories, would only have exposed the bearer to the most imminent peril.

Kutaieh was then for a long time the head-quarters of both Tamerlane and Ibrahim Pasha. It was here the latter erected the tribunal for reforming the abuses of the sultan's government and governors. It was from hence that he sent his detachments and issued his mandates for the occupation of Guzel-hissar, Magnesia, and even Smyrna. The sultan's officers were displaced, and his own appointed in their room.

At Smyrna, the Egyptian rule was of very short duration, as the moment the news reached Constantinople, orders were sent to strike all the consular flags; a measure immediately followed by the restoration of the former governor, and the flight of the other to the camp of Kutaieh.

Cara Osman Oglou, though obliged to fly from his government of Guzel-hissar, was fortunate to escape with his life, though he suffered severely in his estates from the excessive exactions of Ibrahim. His uncle, the musselim of Magnesia, and his venerable preceptor the aga of Cassaba, were not so fortunate, both being thrown into

prison, and charged with being accessary to the deposition of Ibrahim's governor at Smyrna.

A large of money was fixed by Ibrahim as the penalty for their offence, and to the aga of Cassaba, as a commutation of the sentence of death. It was in vain for the unfortunate man to protest either his innocence or his inability to raise the required sum. He engaged to pay it, on the solemn assurance that his life would be spared.

The time allowed for raising it was so short, that it seemed almost impossible—yet so great was the interest which his hard case excited, that the whole sum was promptly procured, a merchant of Smyrna, known to the writer, furnishing a proportion of it amounting to forty thousand piastres. The money was ready, and paid before the time stipulated—the bags were unsealed—the mahmoudies and dollars counted—declared to be right in amount,—a receipt given,—and instantly after the body of the venerable old man, strangled by the governor of Magnesia, was thrown out into the streets of Cassaba.

It is true, that Ibrahim disavowed the murder, but it is absurd to suppose that his tool, the go-

vernor of Magnesia, would have taken the responsibility upon himself.

The following extract from Mr. Cohen's letter to me, after his arrival at the camp of Ibrahim Pasha at Kutaieh, confirms the melancholy and almost incredible story.

"At Cassaba, I in vain looked around the room for the old musselim, (aga,) whom I had seen and conversed with during my previous visit; but it appeared to me the house was in sackcloth and ashes,—another had usurped the place, and the lips and hands of him of Magnesia told the awful tale; the venerable beard whitened by eighty winters, with its surrounding features, had been most cruelly separated from the body and forwarded to Kutaieh;—Ibrahim, affected at this occurrence, would have made a prompt retaliation, and was only appeased by the intervention of his advisers."

CHAPTER X.

Leave Guzel-hissar—Buffaloes of Mercury—Arabah disabled—Ride to Balichek-café—Ruins of Magnesia on the Meander—Alarm for Mr. Dethier—The Cenchrius and Ortygia—Arrive at Aiasoluk—Visit in 1824—Honesty of a Greek Shepherd—Death of a Surigee—Generosity of a Turk—Church of St. John, and the Motropolitan Church—Ancient Painting—Prison of St. Paul—Sculptures on the Gate of Persecution—The Amphisbæna—Arrow of Tamerlane.

Thursday, Nov. 28.—Though better, it was more prudent not to attempt so soon to remount my horse, and we therefore endeavoured to prevail upon our simple and careful arabahji to take me as far as Balichek-café; but he could not be prevailed upon, alleging, and probably with truth, the inability of his buffaloes. Kyriacos found another arabahji, and the contract was definitely made for thirty piastres, paid in advance.

It was half-past eleven, when we left Guzel-hissar, the "castle of beauty," taking an ample

stock of provisions, and not forgetting *chalva*,* for which the place is *renommé* and near, to present to our Smyrna friends. Some capital wine was also purchased, but Milcom having slung the earthern vase by the ear, at his saddle-bow, like the bottles of John Gilpin, it underwent the same fate, and from the same cause, a restive horse; the horse of backward step celebrity, which since the adventure of Kyriacos had been transferred to its owner.

My voiture, guarded by Suleiman, was much in advance of the party. The country about Guzel-hissar bore yet the appearance of summer; the trees still in leaf. The same belt of sand-hills all along in front of the mountain of Messogis. At a quarter past twelve was a café, fountain, and place for prayer; a few minutes after, another café and a watercourse. The hills, now close to the sand-hills, were coloured *red as blood.* At one o'clock a beautiful grove of olives lay on the right; and in another half-hour was

* The ordinary chalva is made with honey, sesame oil, and fine flower; the Guzel-hissar chalva differs considerably, and seems rather to resemble the sweetmeat called *mustalevria*; and rancid butter used in its composition did not, to my taste, make it more delicate.

another café shed—near which we passed the now dry bed of the Aches-derè-chay.* About this time our friends joined us.

My buffaloes seemed to have made better speed than their brethren of Denizli; whether this was owing to a mark they were honoured with, each on the rump, I venture not to decide; but certain it is, that this mark was the exact fac-simile of the planetary sign of *Mercury*, ☿; and in this classical region, I fancied they might have descended from the herds stolen by the light-footed and light fingered god from poor Battus.

But perhaps the different form of the wheels might have accelerated our movement; instead of a heavy mass of wood, cut in a circular form, and about one foot and half diameter, the arabah wheels of Guzel-hissar were, though also of solid wood, at least five feet high, and of very slender proportions. Certainly, my coachman was not half so intelligent or active as the arabahji of Denizli; for if questioned about direction of road, or distance, he would turn his head round provokingly on the opposite side, and

* Perhaps this is the same name as the river between Tshaltighi and Bourdour.

talk of his arabah or his buffaloes, and instead of walking carefully by the side, and sometimes, like another Hercules, putting his shoulder to the carriage to help it over a threatening rut, as his predecessor would often do, he seated himself in a good half of the carriage, and as constantly made a resting stool of my legs for his own, as large as his buffaloes', till a sharp kick was the only intelligible language to tell him to take them out of the way.

At a quarter before two the village of Yarinkeuy lay at the right, and about two, the village of Karabonar. At twenty minutes before three the village of Ishaklee; and at twenty minutes after three the village of Tacklare. Looking back towards Guzel-hissar, a magnificent rainbow rested on a cloud as black as night, and the rain was falling in deluges. We, on the contrary, were riding, nearly choaked in clouds of dust, and as the wind was blowing against us, we rode on in perfect ease from all apprehensions of a wet coat.

It was near four o'clock when we arrived at the village of Bocklee or Bouklough, and having rested at the cafinet till half-past four, we pre-

pared to continue our route. I was unwilling to go on at this late hour, for the cafigi assured us that we had yet three hours to our conac; and from my knowledge of the country, I was convinced he was right; but Milcom, with his usual pertinacity and ignorance, insisted he had been on this road; that it was not two hours to Balichek-café, and that the road was an excellent one, ισος and *uni*, straight as a line, and smooth as a looking-glass.

We set out; took wrong turnings at every quarter of an hour, upon the principle of taking a shorter cut, notwithstanding we had a *caterdji* with us for our conducteur. This man was the proprietor of a string of mules, and was returning with them from Guzel-hissar, unloaded. I was shaken horribly, and anticipated the moment as not far distant, when by the overthrow of my carriage I should be thrown into a ditch.

We, however, went on, though the peril increased every moment; at last Mr. Dethier being fortunately behind, observed that one of the wheels suddenly flew off, and I escaped an overthrow only by miracle. The wheel was not

broken, (how could it be, a solid block of wood?) but the iron pin was gone, and could not be replaced. We searched long and fruitlessly; the light-fingered god might have taken it; if our good arabahji himself, having been paid in advance, and not liking a longer journey, or a lodging at Balichek-café, had not, as is most probable, secreted it himself.

Milcom was scolded soundly, as he deserved; and after long debate, it was decided that it would be better to proceed at all risks than spend the night where we were. The alternative for me was to walk to the café, or mount my horse; I preferred the latter, and with little compunction of conscience, in abandoning the arabahji, who, if he had not really got the missing iron, would be compelled to stay where he was till daylight, we set out once more.

It was not absolutely dark, for the moon, though clouded, gave a faint light. We travelled on, when, though the *caterdji* was at our head, Milcom and Suleiman (not the *wise*) again contrived to lead us out of the road, and what was worse, to lose our conducteur. We were led *à*

travers, through brier and thicket, to regain the *caterdji*, but though we heard his voice at intervals, responding to the tinkling of the mule's bells, we wandered on in uncertainty, till our actual arrival at the Balichek-café, at half-past eight o'clock.

The miserable hut was hailed as a palace, though we had to sleep with about a dozen other companions. Our host was a curious figure; and his habiliments were so cut and adjusted, that he reminded me forcibly of the wasp-like gentlemen in the days of Elizabeth and James the First. One of our bed-fellows, a Samiote Greek, going to Guzel-hissar on affairs of commerce, nearly stifled us with his tobacco fumes as we lay in our beds, and disturbed our rest half the night with his loquacity in his dreams. Friend Kyriacos, who was in more intimate proximity to him than ourselves, carried some part of his wares to Smyrna, not a very saleable article.

The Balichek-café is at a short distance only from the ruins of the Ionian Magnesia, called, to distinguish it from the Lydian, by the name of Magnesia ad Meandrum. The site is at present known by the name of Inekbazar, "the cow or

cattle" bazar, though ridiculously enough translated by Van Egmont, the "needle" bazar. *

* Strabo describes Magnesia as situated in a plain at the foot of a mountain called Thorax, not far from the Meander, but nearer the Lethæus, a stream flowing from Pactyas, a mountain of the Ephesii. This description agrees precisely with Inek-bazar, in face of which are two insulated hills, which, when all the plain of the Meander below Inek-bazar was sea, were two islands, called Derasidæ and Sophonia. Besides the town-walls, theatre, stadium, (which adjoins the theatre,) and other indications of the site of a great city, are the vast prostrate fragments of an octastyle Ionic temple, the peristyle of which was nearly two hundred feet in length, and was formed in columns, more than four feet and a half in diameter. It agrees perfectly with the description given of the temple of Diana, at Magnesia, by Vitruvius and Strabo: the former of whom informs us, that this building was a pseudodipterous octastyle of the Ionic order; and the latter, that it was larger than any temple in Asia, except those of Diana Ephesia and Apollo Didymeus, and that it surpassed even the Ephesian temple in harmony, and in the construction of the cell. Among the ruins are seen inscribed pedestals, which formerly supported statues of Nerva and Marcus Aurelius; one of these is dedicated by a high priest and scribe of the Magnetes; and on another fragment were found the names of some priestesses of Artemis Leucophryne."—*Colonel Leake's Journal*, page 243.

William Hamilton, Esq., late ambassador at the court of Naples, to whom I am indebted for the kind notice first taken of this journey in the Athenæum of Nov. 20, 1833, and for many other obliging attentions, was the first who determined the site and explored the ruins of this city. When I

Friday, Nov. 29.—Mr. Dethier gave a strong proof of self-denial this morning. Our cafidji assured us that the Francolins, so talked of and longed after by the chasseurs and gourmands of Smyrna, were as numerous about his café, as Lucas's Tadornes on the lake of Bourdour, though not, like them, to be knocked down with a stick. Mr. D. resisted the temptation, and we mounted our horses at eight o'clock.

The river Lethæus, along which the road passes, and which from its thousand cascades, was so

was there, in 1826, I saw, besides the temple, a theatre, and probably a gymnasium.

Strabo says it was formerly a colony of Magnesians, from near Dotium, in Thessaly, and was sufficiently powerful to contend even with the neighbouring city of Ephesus. Dr. Cramer observes that Leucophrys is mentioned by Xenophon as a spot distinct from Magnesia, which he does not name at all; at the same time, there can be no doubt that it is the site which Strabo alludes to, for he says there is there a temple of Diana, much venerated, and a lake more than one stadium in circuit, with a sandy bottom, and producing a never failing supply of water, fit for drinking, and warm. The Poet Nicander, speaking of the roses which bloomed at Leucophrys, evidently connects it with Magnesia; for he mentions the Lethæus by the designation of the Magnesian Lethæus. It is placed by the Notitiæ among the dioceses of Ionia, and appears to have been once called Meandropolis.—*Dr. Cramer's Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 461.

enchanting on my first journey, had now little or no water. The scenery, however, was as beautiful as ever, and passing through it we arrived at the Debrent café at half-past nine. Mr. Dethier had gone on in advance and was out of sight; I was disposed to follow him without losing time by stopping at this café; but Milcom, for reasons which I could not well comprehend, said it was indispensable to stop here, because every body stopped here, and take a cup of coffee; or in other words, as it was a guard-house, to pay something to the guardians of the road.

We had not quitted the café long, when having stopped to arrange my broken stirrup-leathers, we heard the report of two pistols, and shortly after a third. The sound came from the direction in which Mr. Dethier had advanced, and concluding they were fired by him or at him, we determined to put on a brave and respectable appearance in case of any untoward rencontre with Samiotes, or other brigands, who frequently honour this neighbourhood with their visits.

I took my double-barrelled gun, and Kyriacos placed his hand upon his sabre, and we quickened our pace, dispatching Milcom at full

speed, as an avant courier. Previously to approaching the aqueduct, all attempts at feats of horsemanship were useless, as we could only walk down the long and rocky hill. We found Mr. Dethier alive and well, who had neither fired nor been fired at, but seated quietly and sketching the aqueduct.

By-the-bye, this interesting ruin, though correctly drawn in the Voyage Pittoresque of Monsieur Choiseul Gouffier, is not in an open country as his artist has placed it, but in a very narrow road, with high mountains close on both sides. This aqueduct does not seem to have conducted water to Mount Prion or Coresus, that is, to the supposed site of the ancient city of Ephesus, but in the direction of the modern aqueduct, which supplied the citadel and town of Aiasaluk; a proof, if I am right in my conjecture, that Aiasaluk formed part of the ancient city.

The descent was so long, that we had ample leisure to examine the beauty and variety of the trees; and in this valley and on the road from Balichek café, we saw pines, olives, arbutus of both kinds, unedo and andrachne, ilex, agnus

castus, planes, rhodo daphne, arbor judæ, valonea, and when nearer Ephesus, at the bottom of this hill, groves of myrtle. The heath was also abundant and of two varieties, and for the first and only time since my residence in Asia Minor, I noticed the common fern.

Near the aqueduct on the mountain side at the right, is a large square opening, at a distance resembling a large tomb, but on approaching nearer, proves to be a quarry of marble. We came to the last café near twelve o'clock, and then entered the plain of Ephesus, the *river* running deep and wide on the right. This is probably the Cenchrius, named by ancient authors, and seen on the medals of Ephesus; and if so, the myrtle groves will be near Ortygia, and the mountain with the quarry near the aqueduct, Solmissus.

Chandler supposed Ortygia was at the village of Arvisia on the road from Ephesus to Scala Nova, but confessed though he sought for it he could find nothing to support the conjecture. I have passed that way several times, and the last time examined it with much attention. There is no *river*, and certainly no cypresses at present.

Ortygia will therefore be either in the valley we descended, or in that of Kirkingè, and one of those rivers the Cenchrius. The tradition was, that Latona had been delivered of Diana in Ortygia, a beautiful grove of trees of various kinds, chiefly cypresses, near Ephesus, on the coast, a little up from the sea. This place was filled with shrines and images. A panegyris, or general assembly, was held there yearly; and splendid entertainments were held, and mystic sacrifices solemnized. The Cenchrius, probably a crooked river, ran through it; and above it was the mountain Solmissus, on which, it was fabled, the Curetes stood and rattled on their shields, to divert the attention of Juno.

Crossing the river which I have supposed the Cenchrius, we rode by the head of the plain, opposite the gymnasium, (if such it be,) and soon after crossed another wide and dry bed of a stream coming down also from the mountain. It was twenty minutes before one when we arrived at Aiasaluk; we lunched and remained there till half-past one. We observed on entering the plain soon after twelve, the remains of a considerable building on the left, which I had not remarked

before; but as it is built of small stones, it is probably of Turkish times. Adjoining the gymnasium, is a long platform or terrace, under the mountain side, extending towards the east, the site evidently of buildings.

Travellers who may henceforward be disposed to visit this most interesting place,—and who is there, that arriving at Smyrna, would quit it again without a ride to Ephesus?—will find a very good café, and a cafidji most orientally polite. As a proof of it, when once here, in May 1832, with some young friends, we had scarcely spread our beds around the elevated platforms, when the cafidji took up his lyre and began to lull us to sleep, with its melody. It might have had its intended effect, if some hours after he had not, on resuming it, been joined vocally by a Turk, freshly arrived, and in a deplorable state of inebriation.

This gentleman thought proper to give us a song, and in so loud a strain, as to wake in an instant all that were asleep, and to chase sleep from such as had been hitherto sleepless. It was in vain, that we made gentle remonstrances, and at length used stronger language; the fel-

low defied the whole of us, and gave us the unceasing powers of his lungs, till at length losing all patience, we threatened the cafidji to complain of him to the Elez aga, and what perhaps he feared most, not to give him a para. The cafidji laid aside his lyre, and affectionately assured us, "he would cut off the nose of a fly who should dare to disturb our repose."

In 1824, I had the honour of accompanying the present Earl of Ashburnham, (then Viscount St. Asaph,) to Ephesus. Our fellow traveller was Mr. Steuart, a young officer, belonging to the Hind sloop of war, but long ere this, I hope, bearing the actual rank of "capitano," at that time respectfully applied to him, by our travelling attendants.

On arriving at Aiasaluk, with every appearance that the night, which had already set in, would be a night of deluges, we found the place altogether deserted; chiefly occasioned by the constant descents of the Samiotes, who plundered and murdered every Turk that fell in their way. The cafinet had been described to us as shut up; but this could not be correctly said, inasmuch as doors and shutters had fallen to the ground,

the roof was in part open to the heavens, and a plentiful crop of grass was springing up from the earthen floor.

Wretched as it was, there seemed no alternative, and we had almost commenced our preparations for taking possession, when an old Greek showed us a Turk's house on the side of the castle hill. Bad as it was, it was better than the cafinet, and as the master was from home, we took the liberty to establish ourselves within it. A good wood fire and a very tolerable dinner reconciled us to our destiny; we were indebted for most of our comforts to a worthy old Arab, whose good-natured physiognomy was most prepossessing.

The rain fell in torrents all night, and almost as plentifully through the mud roof upon us and our bedding. This was not wonderful, as the roof was composed simply of a layer of reeds, covered with a bed of earth, from which had grown, as in the cafinet, a good crop of grass. The rain was so unceasing, accompanied by the tremendous thunder so peculiar to Ephesus, that we were unable to proceed on our journey till several days after, and then the whole coun-

try in every direction was covered deeply with water.

On the third day after our arrival, the provisions being nearly exhausted, a negociation was entered into with an old Greek shepherd for the purchase of a lamb, as delicious in Turkey as the mutton is coarse; the man demanded at first six or seven piastres, considerably beyond the actual value of the best in his flock, but selected an old meagre ewe sheep. We were not to be so easily imposed upon, and selected for ourselves; the fellow raised his price to ten piastres.

In the almost starving state of our larder, there was no alternative, and even this was acceded to. What will the admirer of "the noble minded Greeks," say, when the conclusion is added? The shepherd took the sheep on his shoulders, carried it off to the flock, and gave his ultimatum in fifteen piastres. This was impudence beyond endurance, and the old scoundrel was caught in his own trap, for we preferred, even the chance of starvation, to such abominable imposition.

The state of the roads and the deluges of rain

making our return to Smyrna impracticable within the time originally proposed, one of the surigees was dispatched to Smyrna with letters, and for his lordship's firman, and he was directed on his return to meet us at the khan in Tyria. Poor fellow, little did any of us anticipate that he was never to see us again! He arrived at Smyrna, delivered his letters and received the answers, and went to bed in one of the post-houses. A violent storm arose in the night, threw down the post-house, and the poor man was buried in the ruins!

We had now been some days in quiet possession of our habitation, however questionable the right might have been by which we obtained it, and I fear we carried the right of ownership so far as not to be very scrupulous, when other fuel grew scarce, in stripping off a few rafters from the adjoining apartment.

We certainly did not much calculate upon the real owner's return, when he suddenly alighted at the door, and was no doubt surprised to find such a party of self-invited accommodating guests.

He had, however, no sooner made his "salam," and with the best-humoured face in the world

said "*Hosh gelde*, you are welcome," than, dripping as he was, he mounted his steed once more, and in no long time returned with the most acceptable present of a fine lamb, yaourt, &c.

The kind-hearted man had learnt from our servants, no doubt, that we were rather short of provisions, and very probably too, he had heard the story of the honest Greek shepherd; but what was more extraordinary still, it was with difficulty we prevailed upon him, when we left his house, to accept a small remuneration. And this man was an infidel, and the Greek shepherd a Christian!

I mention this as a tribute of respect due to the memory of this worthy man. In May 1832, I went up to the well-remembered house to inquire for him; an old woman was seated pensively before the door, and I soon learnt that the poor man had died of the cholera in the preceding autumn. The old woman was his mother-in-law, and leaving a trifle for her daughter and three infant children, I came away deeply affected.

For a description at length of the antiquities of Ephesus, I take the liberty of referring the reader to the "Visit to the Seven Churches." But since its publication I have collected a great

deal more information, among which are the following miscellaneous notices.

Aiasaluk is usually considered to be a corruption of Agios Theologos, the name given by the Greek Church to the beloved disciple; but surely this is most absurd. It is almost impossible to torture the words into another so unlike; and if it were not, it is most improbable that the Greeks should have relinquished voluntarily the ancient name of Ephesus, of which they are so jealous, that the Greeks of the neighbourhood designate themselves exclusively by the name of Ephesians. I think Aiasaluk, or, as the historian of Tamerlane writes it, Ajaslik, altogether a Turkish name, and very probably preserving in the word "little moon," or crescent, an allusion to the worship of the Ephesian Diana, as well as the talisman of the Turks.

It has been doubted if the church of St. John really stood on the site of the present mosque, I think there is abundance of evidence to prove that it stood near it. Procopius says, that the church, as rebuilt by the emperor Justinian, was on an elevated hill, unfit for, and incapable of cultivation from being so rocky. The rock of Aiasaluk surely cannot be better described, and

if the church did not stand there, it must have been on the top of Mount Prion; but the description can never apply to that mount, which was celebrated for its fertility.

I think it more probable that it stood at Aiasaluk, and perhaps the gate called the Gate of Persecution, and the large masses of brick walls beyond it, are parts of this celebrated church, which was clearly in a commanding situation, as it was *fortified* during the great council of Ephesus. The earlier church was a very small one, but was rebuilt by Justinian on the same site, and was so magnificent as to equal the church of the Apostles at Constantinople.

In the Greek Synaxaria, page 21, the church of John the Theologist is said to be built on a hill in *old* Ephesus, which was called Ηλιβατον. To the *west* of this hill was the tomb of the holy apostle Timothy. The tomb of Mary Magdalene and the seven *paidia*, (*boys*, as the Synaxaria calls the seven sleepers,) are to be found on an *adjoining* hill, which is called Χειλετων, or Χειλειων—a name clearly designating the clefts or quarries of Mount Prion.

The tomb of St. John was in or under his

church, and the Greeks have a tradition of a sacred dust arising every year, on his festival, from the tomb, possessed of miraculous virtues, and which they call *manna*.

There is positive evidence that the church stood either at or near the great mosque, for I saw several very large Corinthian capitals, one within the court of the mosque, and others on the hill just behind it, having a cross in high relief upon them, evidently from the church of Justinian.

A French traveller, De Loir, about one hundred and fifty years ago, saw tombs in or near the mosque with *crosses* upon them.

The front of the mosque is evidently faced with the same brilliant white marble which made the temple of Diana shine like a meteor at the head of the port. The mosque has precisely the same striking effect at present, and no doubt the church of Justinian was constructed with the spoils of the temple; the rich columns within the mosque are undoubted evidence of it.

The mass of ruins usually supposed to be the remains of the celebrated temple, I should rather take for those of another church; perhaps the metropo-

litan church, which was different from that of St. John; and I am led to this conjecture from the *brick* work above the stone piers, precisely resembling what may be seen in the ruins of the primitive churches at Sardis, Philadelphia, and Pergamus.

At the back of the mosque on the hill is the sunk ground-plan of a small church, still much venerated by the Greeks; it is circular at the eastern end; and may be the primitive church, before rebuilt by Justinian. The sites of two others are also shown at Aiasaluk, besides the large church in the plain, near the supposed site of the temple, which has also a circular eastern end.

The last time I visited Ephesus, I examined with more attention the remains of the painting in one of the arched recesses of what is called a gymnasium. Besides the fishes, I thought I could distinguish a man on horseback, and a javelin or spear was very visible. There was a church of St. Luke at Ephesus: may this have any reference to the legend of the fishes? or, if it be of earlier date, may it commemorate the fishes leaping from the coals, like the fish of

St. Neot from the fryingpan, and the javelin with which the wild hog was killed on the spot where afterwards was erected the Athenæum, or temple of Minerva, and which was without the city? If the latter, this building may have been the Athenæum.

The building, called the prison of St. Paul, is constructed of large stones without cement, and has four chambers; the doorways have a *pointed* arch, which ought to be evidence against remote antiquity, or a proof of the existence of the pointed arch in times long anterior to the Saracenic ages.

The sculptures which adorned the gate called the Gate of the Persecution, were clearly only parts of sarcophagi. The two principal were clandestinely removed several years ago, and after passing to Smyrna, Malta, and, I believe, England, are now in Russia, having been purchased by the present proprietor for a very large sum.

In 1832, I was copying an imperfect inscription below this gate, and accidentally turning over a stone, found a fragment, the entire trunk of one of the figures belonging to the principal

or centre bas relief now in Russia, and which, in the fear of discovery, had, I suppose, been unintentionally left behind by the spoliator.

It may be well to apprize future travellers, that I found behind the mosque at Aiasaluk, when turning over other stones, not a scorpion, which Dr. Chandler says were so abundant, but the species of serpent called amphisbæna: it was small, ringed, and of a reddish colour. The bite has been reputed dangerous, but I am not sure there is sufficient authority for believing it; the two extremities so exactly resembled each other, that it was not till it was much irritated and opened its mouth, that we could distinguish the head from the tail.

When Tamerlane was at Aiasaluk, he is said to have thrown a dart, or shot an arrow, in the great mosque, which was to be seen even at the present day, sticking nearly in the centre of the dome. I certainly, at my first visit to Ephesus, saw something sticking there, which I could readily believe was an arrow; and when, in 1832, I pointed it out to some young friends, *

* Willingly would I have given the whole details of an excursion, certainly among the most agreeable I have ever un-

so perfect was the conviction of the whole party, that most declared, with and without the aid of

dertaken; but it would be out of place at present: perhaps at some future time I may find an opportunity to do it. I should be ungrateful, however, to my amiable young friends, if I did not mention their names, and take this public mode of assuring them how much I enjoyed the dignity of cicerone.

Our party was numerous, amounting to no less than a dozen, exclusive of attendants. These were Mr. Firman Guys, Mr. Richard Vanlennep, Mr. Firman Cousinery, Mr. Dethier, Mr. Francis Werry, Mr. John and Mr. George Lee, Mr. Richard Keun, Mr. Paul Homero, Mr. Vanzanee, Abraham of Cæsarea, and myself.

Among *our discoveries*, we certainly may place an important one, that of the oracular cave of Apollo at Claros, not as Chandler supposed, among the ruins of Notium, but on the mountain opposite to Giaourkeuy; and the shouts of the party from the theatre at Ephesus of Μεγαλη η Αρτεμις των Εφεσιων —"Great is Diana of the Ephesians," were almost as deafening as in the days of Demetrius.

The following note of Mr. Keun is too flattering to my feelings to be withheld; and it will give my English readers an amiable picture of the young men of Smyrna, that they could enjoy a rational and instructive excursion.

"Mon cher Monsieur,

"Vous etes bien bon de donner tant d'attention aux petits services que j'ai été trop heureux de rendre a notre agréable excursion, d'autant plus qu'ils avoient un but purement matériel, mais nous vous devons tous bien des remerciemens et des obligations, pour ceux que vous avez rendus à notre caravane sous le rapport scientifique en voulant bien

telescopes, and mounting to the head of the pulpit stairs, that they could plainly see the barb!

A profane young man, Mr. Richard Vanlennep, let his name descend to posterity with the glory attached to it, put a ball into his gun, and took aim at the mysterious arrow. The thunder of the report was astounding; the venerable fabric shook to its base, and re-echoed again and again like Solmissus at the birth of Diana. The angry spirits of Tamerlane, and the Omars, and the Osmans, seemed to be flitting about in the black dense cloud which for some minutes filled the mosque; and the terror was increased by a heavy clanking of chains.

The aim had been a sure one, and something

nous servir de guide et d'explicateur des edifices, avantage que nous a mis a même de retirer quelque fruit de cette partie, dont le souvenir me sera toujours precieux, et que j'espere voir de renouveller quelque jour aidée de votre experience vers quelqu'autre pointe interessante de l'Asie Mineur. En attendant veuillez bien me croire, Monsieur,

Votre respecteux,

RICHARD J. KEUN.

I dare not add another from Mr. Firman Guys; it would expose me to a well-founded charge of vanity; and yet I will be vain to enjoy the friendship of persons of all communions, Protestant, Catholic and Greek, for of such our party was composed.

fell to the ground with a ponderous weight. The cloud dispersed, and with it the beautiful legend of the dart of Tamerlane; instead of which were seen several links of a chain which had once, perhaps, in the days of Timur Bec, supported an iron lamp.

CHAPTER XI.

Visit to Kirkingè, near Ephesus, to establish a school—System of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster in use at Athens one hundred and fifty years ago—The Manuscript Gospel at Kirkingè, written by St. John—Anecdote of a Greek Caloyer, and a similar Manuscript—Ingratitude of a Greek Schoolmaster—Appeal for the Turks—Bishops of Ephesus—Kesil-hissar, or Castle of Dervishes—Gelat Cafinet, take forcible possession—Olalanissi and Chapwan Oglou—Baggage-searchers—Arrival in Smyrna.

OFTEN as I have visited the ruins of Ephesus, the place has such a witchery for me, that I am always ready to go there, and as reluctant to leave it. This feeling has been excited, latterly at least, by something better than a mere love for antiquities. I have longed to establish a school among the representatives and probable descendants of the ancient Ephesians who live

on the mountain at the head of the plain, about an hour and a half from it.

The reader will excuse me if I leave my friends Dethier and Kyriacos for a short time, and relate a visit which I paid in the earlier part of last year to Kirkingè with this object. My first visit to Kirkingè was in March, 1832, when I was at Ephesus with my excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, an American missionary, so well known and so deservedly esteemed for his philanthropy and successful zeal in establishing schools in the Archipelago and in Smyrna.

We arrived at the village of Kirkingè late in the evening, deluged by the heavy rain, and were most hospitably received into the house of a man who had overtaken us on the road, and who, with his brother, keeps a *baccal* or general shop at Aiasaluk.

On the following morning, we visited the church and the two priests, and proposed to assist the villagers in the establishment of a school of *mutuel enseignement.** One of them was very

* I have lately seen an English translation of "Athenes ancienne et nouvelle." The author is the Sieur de la Guilletiere, and it was published in 1675. The following is the ac-

grateful for the offer; but the other seemed to care little about it. There was, he said, a school

count of the school system to which I have before alluded, vol. ii. page 97.

"Our janissary proposed to us to go and see a Greek of his acquaintance, who was a didascolos, or schoolmaster. We desired no better, and were upon thorns till we were with him; but alas! how were we disappointed, (who expected nothing but the sublime notions of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle,) when the janissary told us he was a *mechanic*—how were we surprised to consider a man of that quality should succeed to the place of such excellent persons. We found about thirty young lads sitting upon benches, and their master at the head of them, teaching them to read. He rose up when we came in, and received us very civilly, in which, to give them their due, that nation is not sparing.

"The janissary desired him to go on with his boys, and give us the liberty of seeing his method, which was pretty, and *much beyond ours;* the master causing the whole *classis* to read at a time without confusion, every scholar being obliged to attention, and to mind what his next neighbour reads. They had each of them the same authors in their hand; and, for example, if he had thirty scholars, he chose out some continued discourse, and gave them but thirty words to read; the first boy reading the first word, the second boy the second word, and so on.

"If they read roundly and right, he gave them thirty words more; but if any of the boys were at an imperfect, he was corrected by the next, who was always very exact in observing him, and he his neighbour, till the whole number of words were read; so that the thirty scholars lying all of them at catch, and

already, and led us to the school-room connected with the church, where ten little children were assembled under the rod of a one-eyed master, who seemed but poorly qualified to teach, and little disposed, if he was able.

Adjourning to a cafinet in the hope of seeing some of the primates, this one-eyed gentleman, to prove his qualifications, gave us a long *paramythia* about the steps of a Turkish mosque, and both he and the priests showed their biblical learning by recounting the pedigrees and longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs with all the precision of the College of Arms.

We left them with the promise that they would

and ready to take advantage of any defect in their neighbour, stimulated by an ambition of being thought the best scholar, every one's lesson was the lesson of all, and happy was he that could say it the best.

"To obviate any of the scholars in eluding that word by preparing himself for any single word, their places were changed, and he who at one reading was in the first place, was removed a good distance in the next. Thus one lesson was enough for a whole form, how numerous soever; and, what was very convenient for the master, the boys were not constrained to come to him one after another, for every one was a master to his neighbour."—*Account of a late Voyage to Athens, englished in the year* 1676.

call a meeting of the principal villagers, and communicate to us the result. Hearing nothing from them, in the month of May I accompanied the young friends mentioned in the last chapter to Ephesus, and after examining, as usual, all the antiquities, and conjecturing about the site of the renowned temple of Diana, I left my friends at the cafinet, and accompanied by Abraham of Cæsarea, the respectable and well-qualified successor of Œconomos in the Ellenic School at Smyrna, we mounted our asses, for this Ephesian journey was neither on horseback nor in an arabah of buffaloes, but on asses, and set out for Kirkingè.

The road lay through a narrow ravine or valley, with the deep bed of a *river*, probably the Cenchrius, all the way on the right, and after some time we saw the small remains of an aqueduct on the left, and not long after a mill on the right. Leaving the valley at a quarter before five, in a quarter of an hour after came to a fountain of fine water, and magnificent plane-trees, and enormous rocky mountains.

We ascended by a succession of *staircases* of rocks, hearing the rush of the river on the left

at an immense depth below. We continued to ascend till we arrived at the summit, almost in the clouds. The village is a considerable one, of at least three hundred houses, all Greek: the principal language of the villagers is Turkish, though they know something of their own tongue.

Arrived at Kirkingè, our first visit was to the church; we found the one-eyed schoolmaster with the ten children about him, and before the door two of the priests. As before, the one was anxious for the school, the other, evidently in the interest of his one-eyed friend, cared nothing at all about it. We inquired for the Gerondes, the heads of the community, and were told, whether true or not, that they were all absent, and we were compelled a second time to leave the place without having accomplished any thing more than specifying the amount and nature of the assistance we were willing to give, and engaging the priest and my hospitable friend Yeorgy to use their influence with the Gerondes, and to write me.

Previously to returning, we were again shown the manuscript mentioned by Chishull above a

century ago, as held in such high veneration. It is a *Lectionary*, with illuminations at the heads of the principal divisions. The priest took it out of its linen cover with much veneration, and offered it to us to kiss, previously to presuming to look into it. He repeated the traditionary tale, that it was written by the hand of St. John himself! but a note in the first leaf was a little at variance with this story, for it stated that it had been brought from Samos or Crete, and a later note mentioned the repairs of the binding in 1787.*

* At Smyrna, a similar manuscript is in my possession, with which the following curious circumstances are connected. In the year 1823, at one of the great festivals, I think Easter-day, there was a numerous attendance at the sacramental-table. I was reading the prayer of consecration, and had just pronounced the affecting words, "Do this in remembrance of me," when the chapel-door opened, and a personage walked with a solemn step up the aisle, and seating himself opposite the table, looked me full in the face. Some centuries ago, in England, and a few years ago on the continent, it would not have required much argument to induce a congregation to believe that this personage was really a mysterious character.

His hair, which he had in profusion, fell in curls on each shoulder, and was parted from the forehead to the back of the head. His face was oval and he wore a beard. In fact, all the features of the face and the expression, recalled Him, whom no doubt my readers, from the description, expect to hear mentioned. He was, in fact, so perfect a resemblance of the

We found the Epitropos in the church, who most gratefully offered to promote our wishes about the school.

portraits of our Lord, as they always appear, upon the medals of the Lower Empire, that though we had the evidence of our senses, that he was only a Greek caloyer, many of the congregation I believe, were struck with a feeling in some degree approaching to awe. The long flowing black robe was admirably adapted to increase the illusion.

He continued to the end of the service, and preserved throughout, an expression of seriousness and reverence. When the congregation had left the chapel, he accompanied me to my house, and during his stay in Smyrna frequently called upon me. He was a caloyer, or monk, belonging to some monastery in the interior.

I saw no more of him till the early part of the last year, when he again called upon me, but very much changed, and I should scarcely have recollected him. I observed that his eye was often fixed on a book which lay on the table; a Greek manuscript of the gospels, precisely the counterpart, in character, to that called by Rev. Hartwell Horne, The *Codex Ebnerianus*, and of which he gives a fac-simile. It was a manuscript given me by my friend Mr. Borrell, who at the same time sold me another, a Lectionary, precisely like that in the church of Kirkingè.

The caloyer, in relating what had happened to him since I saw him, began thus:—"You may recollect, Kyrie, that when I took my leave of you, you gave me ten piastres. I embarked in a caique for Samos, but landed at Patmos. I had not been there long, when a Palikari offered to sell me an Evangelion, written, not printed, which he had got out of some

We now went to the hospitable mansion of my friend Yeorgy. The whole family knew me from the window, and gave me the warmest welcome. The old mother was, as usual, seated on the ground with her wheel, and with twenty Turkish words, and one Greek, asked me a thousand questions, and gave me a thousand welcomes. Yeorgy's wife was occupied with her child at the breast, but was as warm in her attentions as the old woman; so were several other women, and all, but one of the chil-

monastery. I bought it with the money you had kindly given me; and taking it to Samos, sold it to Kyrios Ducas for one hundred piastres; a sum which kept me and my poor old mother in comfort a long time, till the cruel treatment which afterwards befel me."

He then gave a long account of ill usage, requesting my interference in his behalf. I took the manuscript from the table, and asked him if it was a book of that kind. He looked at it attentively, and almost immediately exclaimed, "It is the very book that I bought with your money, and it has found its way into your hands in return for your charity!"

When the good caloyer quitted me the *first* time, he no doubt thought he had more than overpaid my charity by allowing me to see, (and even pressing me to kiss, which I heretically declined,) the middle finger of the right-hand of St. John the Baptist, most carefully enveloped in three cases of chrystal, silver, and wood.

dren, who ran away and hid himself in affright, seemed rejoiced to see me once more.

Leaving some modern Greek Testaments for the use of the church, and some small books for the use of the ten boys at the school, we quitted Kirkingè, but in doing so, took a road which proved to be a wrong one. We were kindly directed to the right one by numerous villagers whom we met returning from their work in the plain below. Most of these were females, and dressed in the Turkish manner, covering their faces with all the real unaffected feeling of native innocence.

In fact, this little population of probably fifteen hundred persons, interested me more than any Greeks I have ever met with. The men are all armed as the Turks, with pistols and yatagan, a privilege which they have well merited, from having often successfully used them against the Samiote robbers; many of whom have been killed by the men of Kirkingè.

The summer passed away, and I heard nothing about the school; and at our present visit I called on my friends at the Baccal, and found that

Yeorgy was gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and would not return till the spring. I sent another message and offer to the Gerondes about establishing a school, but they seemed to be more intent on rebuilding their church.

The time seems fast approaching when the Turks will be disposed to receive assistance in introducing a better system of education; and if funds could be raised, there is every hope that, even in Smyrna, some of the most influential among the Turks would themselves assist in establishing schools. When so much has been done, and is doing every day, for the Greeks, who, it must be owned, are not so grateful as they ought to be, will not my countrymen lend a helping hand to the Turk, who, poor and despised as he may be, is, I will take upon myself to say, quite as deserving, and perhaps more so.

In the month of February, 1833, I determined to make the experiment without waiting longer for a letter from the Gerondes, and therefore sent a young man who had been a schoolmaster at Sedikeuy with a letter for the Bishop of Heliopolis, who resides at Guzel-hissar, requesting him to take the young man under his protection

and to send him to Kirkingè with a letter of recommendation to the Gerondes; for as it was in his diocese, there could be no doubt they would readily comply with his wishes.

Panyottes, for that is the schoolmaster's name, was kindly received by the bishop, and after some days, sent on with a very strong letter to Kirkingè, which would infallibly have led to the most satisfactory accomplishment of my wishes; when the whole again vanished into air, by the ungrateful conduct of the schoolmaster himself.

He went to Kirkingè, looked at it, said it was an *askemos topos*, "a horrible place," and settled himself in Tyria, without deigning to write me a word, though I had once saved his life, and for some time assisted in keeping him and his mother from starving.

The following list of the bishops of Ephesus is so long, that I can only give their names, referring the reader, who may wish for further information, to the Oriens Christianus.

1. Timotheus.
2. Joannes I. (the Evangelist.)
3. Onesimus.
8. Polycrates.
9. Apollonius.
10. Menophanteus, 357.
— Evethius, 382.
— Antonius, 400.
— Heraclides.

— Castineis.
— Memnon, 431. (Presided at the General Council of Ephesus.
Basilius.
27. Bassianus.
28. Stephanus.
29. John II.
30. Paulus, (hæreticus.)
31. Ætherius.
32. Hypatius I. 531.
33. Andreas.
34. Procopius, (hæreticus.)
35. Abramius.
36. Rufinus, 597.
37. Theodorus I.
38. Stephanus II.
39. Hypatius II.
40. Theodosius, (hæreticus) 754.
41. Joannes III.
42. Theophilus, 824.
43. Marcus I. 833.
44. Basilius II.
45. Gregorius.
46. Cyriacus.
47. Theodorus II.
48. Nicephorus.
49. —— 1066.
50. Michael, 1078.
51. Joannes IV. 1143.
52. Nicolaus, 1170.
53. —— (Sub Isaacio Angelo Imper.)
54. Nicephorus II.
55. Isaacius, 1274.
56. Joannes V.
57. Myron.
58. —— (Sub Joanne Cantacuzene Imper.)
59. Matthæus, 1365.
60. Joseph, 1416.
61. Joasaph.
62. Marcus, 1488.
63. Metrophanes.
64. ——
65 Daniel.
66. Athanasius, 1575.
67. Sophronius, 1580.
68. Meletius, 1639.
69. Paisius, 1650.
70. Nuper sedit Cyrillus, anno scilicet, 1721. That is, when the Oriens Christianus was published.

It is time to return to my friends Dethier and Kyriacos. We remounted our horses at half-past one, and on leaving Aiasaluk and winding

round the castle, we crossed another stream, probably that in the valley of Kirkingè, and if so, possibly the Cenchrius. Going a little out of the road on the north side of the castle, we observed what I had not remarked before, a square doorway nearly at the base of the castle; it did not look like a tomb, and was therefore probably a subterranean entrance into the citadel.

At ten minutes after two, we crossed the bridge of the Cayster; beyond which, on the left, is a road, leading, I believe, to the ferry. At twenty minutes before three we saw tombs in the mountain rock on the left, and the remains of a wall. We had the first view of the Kezil-hissar Castle at ten minutes after three. This building, perched on the summit of a very lofty precipitous mountain, is called by various names; the Castle of Dervishes, the Castle of the Goats, and the Castle of Soley Bey, the celebrated rebel who had another castle of Khonas, (Colossæ,) and who, in 1736, besieged and distressed the city of Smyrna.

Why this is called the *Castle of the Goats* it is difficult to say; unless from the situation, approachable only by these animals. It is evidently

a building of ancient date, and constructed with large stones, though it was too dark to distinguish them with the telescope. It has been conjectured, and with much probability, to have been one of the Persian watch-towers. The Turks, who never mention the Persians but by the name of Kezil-bash, or red-head, may perhaps have preserved the tradition in the name of Kezil-hissar; and if this be admitted as probable, may not the two towns of Guzel-hissar be a corruption of the same, instead of the "Castles of Beauty,"

Previously to approaching this castle the mountain rocks on the left are of stupendous perpendicular elevation, and shaped as if cut by art—one part resembled the circular end of a building. Some tombs are also to be seen here, high on the mountain-side.

I was now so much fatigued, that I would gladly have remained for the night at the village of Cosebonar, if my anxiety to reach Smyrna to-morrow had not overruled every other consideration. We accordingly went on, passing the small deserted café hut of Cosebonar, about four o'clock, and at five arrived at the Gelat cafinet,

which to our dismay was shut, and the master not at home. The name is not an inviting one for a traveller's halt, for Gelat means "*Cut-throat*," and so named from the banditti that formerly infested this gorge.

We ventured, with some difficulty, to storm the castle, for such was its form; took forcible possession, and made our preparations for the night; much to the displeasure of Milcom, who, whether because the name of the hotel did not please him, or whether he really felt for the poor horses who had no place of shelter, and, what was worse, no barley to eat, raved very much, and would fain have led us on to the Arab café, which, though at least two hours, he declared to be but a step.

I was too much fatigued to assist Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos in the duties of lighting the fire, and making the cuisine; but we had an excellent roast, and retired to our beds with quiet consciences, notwithstanding the anticipated rencontre with the master of the mansion to-morrow.

The café was really a chateau-like edifice; the material, as usual, of sun-dried bricks, but such

were employed also in the proud palaces of Babylon; at two of the corners of the twelve feet square apartment, was a round tower; in one of these was a ladder, by which it appears the Castelan, like the renowned Robinson Crusoe, having barricadoed his door and windows within, ascended to the flat roof, and let himself down by the wall. There were narrow loop-holes also in the side walls, for the purpose of reconnoitring and attacking from within, a besieging enemy.*

Saturday, December 1.—We rose at an early hour, and the master of the mansion was not yet arrived. The keen eyes of Kyriacos discovered a hen's nest in one of the towers, and we had less scruple in appropriating the contents, because our rest had been most unconscientiously disturbed half the night, by an enormous cock, who, perched on one of the bars of the ladder, tried,

* What would the mild laws of England adjudge to the man, who finding, after sunset, a house, securely fastened by its proprietor, absent on business, should dare to break it open, and even to appropriate some of the inviting articles that were within it?

by straining his notes to the highest pitch, to give his master notice that his citadel was taken.*

We re-barricadoed the door,—fastened the window,—leaving the place precisely, to exterior appearance, as we had found it, and mounted our horses at eight o'clock; anticipating the astonishment of the Castelan to find proofs, on opening his door, that his castle had been surprised; though he would be quickly reconciled by the sight of increased treasures in his money-box.

As from the extraordinary dry season, there was neither *marais* nor lake, where usually there

* It has been often remarked, in illustration of Scripture, that in the eastern countries the cocks crow in the night; but the regularity with which they keep what may be called the watches, has not been perhaps sufficiently noticed. I will, however, confine myself to one, and that is between eleven and twelve o'clock. I have often heard the cocks of Smyrna crowing in full chorus at that time, and with scarcely the variation of a minute. The *second* cock crowing is between one and two o'clock; therefore when our Lord says, "In this night before the cock crow *twice*," (Mark xvi. 30,) the allusion was clearly to these seasons. In fact, this was altogether so novel to me at my first arrival in Smyrna, that I could calculate the hours of the night with as much precision, by what I termed my *alectrometer* as by my watch.

is both, and where, ten years ago, when accompanying the king of the Turcomans and Mr. Brant the present consul at Trebizond, we saw numerous wolves and wild boars, instead of taking the road along the mountain-side, we took the direct one across the plain, and at nine o'clock came abreast of the village of Yenikeuy, lying in at a little distance on the left, and at ten minutes before ten Frigatta lay on the right, and at ten o'clock we came to the Arab café.

This was the place Milcom felt such a desire to proceed to last night, to provender his horses. The poor animals, who were still fasting, were doomed to keep a longer carême, for nothing was to be had at the Arab café. I decided to go on to Olalanissi, but Milcom preferred to go to Trianda, considerably to the right of the direct road.

I reminded him of a similar wish when, on our first journey with Mr. Hartley, we had been compelled to remain two hours in the village of Olalanissi in a deluge of rain. He denied that he had ever been there, and when unintentionally told that his statement was ψεμματα, "*lies*," instead of λαθος "*mistake*"—he was tremendous-

ly indignant. However, we took the road to Olalanissi, passing at half-past ten the tumulus, and soon after the ruins of the aqueduct. Having entered on the plain, we crossed the two streams at half-past eleven, and arrived at Olalanissi about half-past twelve.

When I first passed through this village soon after the commencement of the Greek revolution, it had just been burnt to the ground; and the reddened and blackened mud walls formed a striking contrast with a smart *chifflik*, building by a young Turk, to whom a large part of the adjoining country belongs; and if Milcom had continued to assert that he was here for the first time, I should have excused him, for I scarcely recollected the place myself. But he was candid enough to avow his error, and to ask forgiveness.

Neither barley nor straw could be had here; the poor horses seemed doomed to go on to Sedikeuy or to Smyrna, without food. We stated their wants to the young Turk, and he not only ordered corn for our horses, but showed us all the hospitality which his means in an empty house afforded him. We cooked our own meat on his tripod, and seeing our Guzel-hissar bread, which

we thought excellent, in comparison of much that we had eaten, he threw away the loaf and ordered a splendid one instead of it from his own store.

His name was Khan Chapan Oglou Hussein Bey. He was about twenty, having lost father and mother in his infancy—of extremely modest, gentlemanly manners. After the family of Kara Osman Oglou, that of Chapan Oglou, who is also a *Derè* Bey, is the most powerful, their territory extending northward of Bithynia, to the shores of the Black Sea. According to Dallaway, these are the only two families who are feudal tenants by hereditary succession.*

It was two o'clock when we left Olalanissi. Mr: Dethier, followed by Kyriacos, taking the road to the left, were soon so far in advance, that we were unable to make them understand that they were not in the right road. We went

* There are in fact, (or were,) four Derè Beys.

1. Chapwan Oglou. It is not certain that our young friend of Olalanissi really belongs to this family.

2. Cara Osman Oglou.

3. The Derè Bey of Simav.

4. Elez Aga, who possesses a very large property, including the ancient sites of Colophon, Ephesus, &c.

on, Milcom, Suleiman, and myself, in the straight line for Smyrna, and at three o'clock came to the houses and ruined café of Chaideri Cavessi. Thence the road was direct to Coosamere Café, which we passed at twenty minutes after four. As it was now getting dark, we had some difficulty in getting into the right road, leading from Sedikeuy to Smyrna; the point of junction of the two roads is at the commencement of the first field nearest the café of the Pine.

Extremely fatigued, and as extremely cold, every moment was tedious till we arrived at the guard-house or custom-house; here we were unexpectedly detained by two of the searchers, who began to unload our baggage-horse, and to take the things out of the bags. For similar conduct more than once before, I was compelled to make a complaint to the governor of Smyrna, who, without further inquiry, ordered that useful, bustling, and bulky police officer, Hadji Bey, to throw the whole of the persons complained against into prison; I remonstrated, and prevented the punishment; but in the present instance, though reminded of their ingratitude,

they seemed determined to proceed with their search, and keep me shivering with cold, till their chief, from his window, ordered them to let us pass.

I hastened through the town, full of anxiety and apprehension of I know not what; and when near my own door, hardly dared to see if it was open or shut. What might not have happened during six weeks absence in this *land of contingencies!* The door was open—a good omen. I ventured to look towards the windows—a light was in the drawing-room. Surely then, thought I, my dear wife is there, and well. The sound of the piano-forte assured me of the fact; and instantly after, I was better assured by finding her, thank God, well,—and relieved now from long disquietude, happy. Mr. Dethier, though he had missed the right road, contrived to take a shorter cut, which palank and paplomas could with difficulty follow, and arriving before me, he had prepared her for receiving me.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Journal—From Smyrna to Pergamus and Aivali by land; and thence by sea to Mitylene and Smyrna.

It was my intention to have given, in the remaining pages of this volume, a journal of a short tour, taken some years since, in the vale of the Cayster, and which, besides a full account of the different sources of that celebrated river, would have contained the discovery and description of the ruins of the town of Hypæpa near Demish,—the probable site of the Asian meadow, &c. and being in the month of May, when the whole vale was covered with the most luxuriant crops of wheat, barley, rice and every species of grain, some account would have been given of the mode of

cultivation, especially the busy scenes of preparing the ground for the cotton plants.

But though this might not have been without some interest, especially to the antiquary and classical reader, the following journey has been substituted, as perhaps possessing more general interest, in having for its principal object the lending a helping hand towards the wonder working system of modern education, while at the same time it will be some evidence that the writer, in his journeyings, is not actuated simply by a blind love of antiquarian researches, but can connect with it the more legitimate objects of his professional character.

To those who are acquainted with the state of Turkey and Greece previous to the battle of Navarino, and even some time subsequently, the impossibility of any attempt towards establishing schools for the Greeks is well known. Often and often, in the course of his residence at Smyrna, previous to that period, the writer has longed to make the attempt, and would in one instance actually have tried the experiment, if the late English consul, had not as judiciously as effectually, dissuaded him from it, by a representa-

tion of the danger with which it would be attended, both to the person attempting it and those who were the objects of it.

When the writer returned from Europe in 1829, he was delighted to find that the attempt had not only been made, but most successfully, by an American gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, sent expressly for the purpose, and schools were established first in the islands and subsequently in Smyrna.

June 2, 1830.—In the spring of June 1830, the writer proposed to Mr. Brewer a visit to the Seven Churches and Aivali, in the hope of being able to effect something towards their re-establishment, by the erection of schools; but for several weeks the journey was postponed, partly from the dangerous state of the roads, caravans having been repeatedly attacked and plundered, and the passengers murdered, or otherwise ill treated, and partly by the indisposition of Mr. Brewer; but on this day it was definitively agreed to set out, on a short excursion only, first to Pergamus and Aivali, and then, if circumstances permitted, to the Troad.

We engaged my old friend Milcom, and four

horses, and accompanied by a young Armenian of good family, who from anxiety to accompany us, offered to supply the place of a servant, but whom we dignified with the more elevated rank of Tergiman, we quitted Smyrna about twelve, having long previously dispatched Milcom with the horses to await our arrival at Cordelion. A boat conveyed us to the Cordelion cafinet before one, saving us thereby a troublesome ride of some hours, along the shores of the bay, over a bad stony road. Our horses had not arrived, and did not arrive till a quarter after three, when we quitted the cafinet and proceeded along the road to another café, through innumerable armies of locusts of various growths, from that of a small black fly to a full-sized bee, but as yet unfurnished with wings.*

* The following is an extract from my journal of the Tour through the Vale of the Cayster, which has been already alluded to.—May 8, 1827: "Left Baindir at seven o'clock, accompanied by all the great Turks, &c., armed from head to foot with muskets, pistols, and yatagans, in grand procession, to exterminate the locusts! I was awoke at a very early hour by the Turkish tambour, which was beating a summons for the entire population, Turk, Christian, and Jew, to rise *en masse* and sally out to destroy these destructive insects. Arrived on the field of action about eight o'clock; the hedges

At a quarter past four, a village, called Chili, lay on our right, on the mountain side, and very soon after the rain, which had been threatening, commenced. At first we congratulated ourselves on what we called light summer rain, refreshing and invigorating, but it soon increased to such a degree, that notwithstanding our horses were put to full speed, we were soaked to the skin before we reached Menimen at half-past six. The hard riding was inconvenient to Mr. Brewer, and to

were darkened by the masses of locusts, though not of more advanced growth than a large fly. Hundreds of people were to be seen, Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, grouped in all directions, brushing the locusts together in immense heaps with brushes, &c. at the beat of the tambour, and then with a thundering hurrah, jumping upon the heaps, and killing them. Other parties took a different mode, by sweeping the masses into a small stream, where, like immense swarms of bees clustered together, they sunk to the bottom.

"Only a short week after, I witnessed the exact picture presented by the prophet, (Joel ii. 3.) The locusts, already nearly full grown, formed an immensely long line, and of considerable breadth, in a beautiful verdant meadow; their advance was exactly that of an army in one unbroken straight line; "*the garden of Eden was before them, but a desolate wilderness behind;*" every vestige of vegetation and of verdure had totally disappeared.

hold our umbrellas was really a work of difficulty to both of us. It was our intention to go to the khan, but on arriving at the outskirts of the town, Tackvore pressed us so much to go to a friend's house, an Armenian, that expecting more comfort than at the khan, we consented. If our apartment was not better than the khan would have afforded, it was at least as thickly inhabited; and so disturbed was our rest, by this self-invited society, that we arose after a night of misery, and vented our discontent by changing the name of *Many-men*, into another more appropriate.

Thursday June 3.—Menimen has been generally considered to stand on the site of the ancient town of Temnus, which, according to Strabo, was situated at or near the mountain ranges of Cumæ, Phocæa, and Smyrna. By Pliny, it is placed in the interior at some little distance from the mouth of the Hermus, and by the Tabular Itinerary on the road leading from Smyrna to Cumæ. A high ridge, conspicuous from its numerous wind-mills, rises immediately behind the town of Menimen, which, if this be the site of Temnus, must have been the acropolis. I walked up to it, and over it, this morning before break-

fast, but could not discover the smallest vestige in proof of such a conjecture. Chandler must have mistaken the windmills, for "the *many castles;*" for not a trace of any can be found at present. Though Pliny says it was not far from the mouth of the Hermus, yet Strabo describes that river as falling into the sea not near Temnus, but Phocæa; this is, however, quoted from Herodotus, in whose time probably, Temnus did not exist. We visited the Greek school, where the plan of *mutuel enseignement* had been introduced a short time before, but it was not then in operation. In the corner of the school are several marbles with inscriptions, one of which, on a square pedestal, commenced thus;

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΝ . Β . ΤΟΥ
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ . ΤΟΝ . ΕΠΙ
ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΕΥΚΑ
ΝΟΝ . ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ . ΠΕ
ΡΑΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ
&c. &c. &c.

On another stone, with letters of much more ancient form, was the following:

ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡ
ΚΛΕΙΝΝΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΣ

In a room carefully locked, we were shown a quantity of marble door-cases, of a circular form, of beautiful red and variegated marble—and we were told of an equestrian statue, buried beneath the pavement of the court. · All these, including the inscriptions, were discovered at a place called Nemourt, which the priest told us is five hours from Menimen. In the map of M. Choiseul Gouffier, Nemourtis is said to be on the site of the ancient town of Cumæ; but five hours, common calculation of the country, is not much above fifteen miles, and certainly, the place pointed out to us by the priest, a whitish looking hill, not far from the sea, neither agrees with the situation of Cumæ, nor with the distance assigned to it of five hours: it did not appear farther off than ten or twelve miles, and would agree better with the vicinity of Leucæ, to which possibly the name in the inscription has reference.

It was nearly ten o'clock when we came to the Hermus; we were here delayed some time by the disembarkation from the ferry-boat of other passengers; Turks with asses loaded with pottery, shining smartly with gilding, or a cheaper substitute. One of the asses, in attempting to

get out of the boat, had its leg jammed in a hole within, while the rest of the body lay outside, struggling in the mud. It was most painful to see the poor animal, and more extraordinary to see it freed without broken legs, after the long-continued use of hatchets and levers.

We passed the insulated hill of Booranjook at half-past ten. This at a distance, and it is visible far off, has completely a castellated appearance, and when near, is a most commanding situation for an acropolis; we saw a few ancient fragments near it, and thought it quite as likely to have been the position of Temnus as Menimen. The village of Yenikeuy, the "new town," almost a certain evidence that an ancient one was near it, lay on the right at the mountain foot.

On either side of the road numerous ploughs were preparing the ground for cotton, and the sowing the seeds of carpoushes, (*melons,*) and other crops, was on so extensive a scale as to employ numerous persons. In a burial-ground in which were numerous fragments, and which we passed at half-past twelve, we had a fine view of the sea—a road on the right leads to Guzel-hissar. At one o'clock, while the horses were wa-

tered at a fountain, we walked in advance down a steep hill; the country, which was an open one, with little wood, was excellent for pasturage, and covered with the flocks and tents of Eurukes. Mr. Brewer is a very good mineralogist, and we found here several fine specimens of chalcedony, agate, jasper, hornstone, &c. The locusts were all over the country.

It was half-past two when we came to the Guzel-hissar cafinet, and while the horses were feeding we walked to an eminence behind it, overlooking an ancient ruined bridge over the Xanthus, and observed the course of that river, near which, at its entrance into the sea, must have been the town of Cumæ, which has the Xanthus on several of the coins. We left the cafinet at half-past four, and had fine views as we rode along the eastern edge of the Gulph of Sanderli, at one part of which we saw at the bottom, (or southern extremity,) a circular flattened hill, having evident traces round it of ancient walls.*

* The position of Temnus, Neontichos, and Leucæ, cannot yet be said to be decidedly fixed; we have already noticed the contradictory accounts of Pliny as to the first, who is sup-

In the course of our ride we passed by a lake which I had not seen in a former journey, and

posed to say it lay at or near the mouth of the Hermus; whereas, he agrees elsewhere with Strabo and others in placing it in the interior. At all events, I cannot fix it at Menimen, on the evidence of Dr. Chandler's windmill castles; and I am supported by better authority, for Major Rennell says, "Its site is unknown; Menimen is too far inland for it." Much of the difficulty in fixing the sites of these towns no doubt arises from the changes effected by the Hermus, which, besides the immense tracts of new land formed by its deposits, has clearly wandered far from its ancient course. The town of Leucæ very probably stood on the spot pointed out to us at Menimen as called Nemourtis, for that must be the promontory called Cross-head, and the hill pointed out to me on my first journey, called Lefke hill, and near which, on the road by the sea to Foges, (Phocæa,) is a village called Lefke.* Guzel-hissar is probably the site of either Neontichos or Ægæ, unless the name of a village finely situated on the mountain slope, about three hours from Menimen, and called Dokush, has any affinity with Neontichos by the common substitution of D for T. Choiseul saw an old *castle*, which he supposed to be Neontichos, at the distance of one hour and a half after passing the ferry at the foot of Mount Sardine—a name which he applies also to the mountain on which stands Guzel-hissar. I suppose this castle was at the large village of Halvagekeuy, which, from its magnificent situation at the foot of the mountain near an opening or narrow valley between the ridges, I imagined at my first journey to be the site of some considerable ancient town, though I was not near enough to distinguish any ancient remains. But Neontichos was only four miles from

which Milcom said had been formed by the rains, &c. during the last two or three years. It was not far from hence, that we rode over a considerable space of rather moist ground abounding, in a most extraordinary manner, with insects and reptiles. The locusts were innumerable, and the large black and green cricket, of which there were several varieties in form and colour, seemed to be feeding on the locusts. But this spot was most remarkable for the quantity of snakes, of an immense size, and of a species I had only once seen before in the vale of

another town called Larissa, which was about nine miles from Cumæ. It was on the great road from Smyrna to Cumæ, or rather from the Hermus to Cumæ, and by one author is described as on this plain, and the soil accumulated by the floods of the Hermus, a position seemingly inconsistent with Xenophon's account of its great strength, when it was unsuccessfully besieged by Thimbron; and which would rather imply an elevated situation. In the map, Nemourt is allowed to stand, as placed by Choiseul, on the site of Cumæ, because possibly there are two places of that name; but certainly that is not the Nemourtis, pointed out to us from Menimen. Cyme, or Cumæ, by the description in Homer, was an elevated city at the foot of Mount Sardine, rather at variance with the position usually assigned to it, at the edge of the gulf of Sanderli. Perhaps the circular flattened hill which we saw is the site of this celebrated city.

the Cayster. The colour was reddish brown; a singular plaiting or fold of the skin reached on each side of the head half way down the body; and the tail had a horny termination, (the female probably only,) as in some species of locust and cricket; the average length from four to five feet.

I attacked one of enormous size and length, but having only a small twig, could make no impression; my opponent stoutly defended himself, taking refuge, after he had been driven from bush to bush, round the stem and roots of an agnus castus. Here he defied all my attacks, and though I thrust the twig actually into his mouth several times, he was not to be dislodged. I cut off the heads of some others, and on a close examination, found they had no fangs. In the course of this day I killed also two snakes of a smaller size, and differing in appearance, one having a chain of black spots all down the back, not unlike the viper: I cut off their heads too, and reserved them for examination at home.

We had determined to sleep at the Kesil-keuy, or Kilze-keuy café, induced by a wish to investigate the remains said to be in the vineyards there,

and particularly the *torse* of Hercules; but on coming there, ten minutes before seven, we found no provisions of any kind were to be had, and on the assurance of Milcom, that they were abundant in the village of Kesil-keuy, we proceeded thither. At the back of the café are considerable foundations of ancient walls, extending a long way. The road to the village was an ascent through thickets of evergreen shrubs. In two places on the right we saw, or fancied we saw, some ancient walls, but we had no time to examine them. It was half-past seven when we arrived at Kesil-keuy.

Here Tackvore had promised we should be well accommodated at the house of another of his Armenian friends; but it was not without great difficulty that we could get permission to be lodged in a filthy Turkish house. Tackvore was dispatched to get a fowl, but finding his friend's society more engaging than our own, we saw no more of him, and through the interest of Milcom we were supplied with a greasy pilau and rancid butter.

Our apartment was so horrible, that we determined to sleep in the open air; but the wind

blowing coldly, we were compelled to place our beds on a sort of a wooden shelf, elevated about four feet from the floor, on which, as there was but little space, the position of our beds was adjusted mathematically and diagonally. We had been some time in bed, if not actually reposing, when the *fowl* made its appearance, brought by a Turkish cook, the master of the mansion, after eleven o'clock. He wondered much when we deferred it for a morning repast, and determined that this specimen of his cookery talents should not be thrown away; the said fowl disturbed our rest once more, the Turk awaking us at half-past three to take our orders respecting it.

Thursday, June 4.—It was half-past six before we left the village, which is misery personified; the road down from it till it joins the great road from Smyrna to Pergamus, was through evergreen thickets; locusts as yesterday, in immense masses, and multitudes of the larger green and black cricket. It rained from time to time rather heavily, to the discomfort of several groupes of Turkish ladies, whom we met on the plain in their holiday dresses, this being the last day of the Courban Bairam. We crossed the

Caicus, by the bridge, at half-past eight, and at ten arrived at Pergamus, and settled in the same khan where I had been before, of better appearance than prepossessing recollections.

We were fatigued, but re-invigorated by a good breakfast, we walked to the mass of building with the circular towers, and notwithstanding Choiseul, (or perhaps more probably my friends M. Le Chevalier and Mr. Fauvel,) decided that it was the temple of Esculapius, I still think it was the ancient church, and should have thought so, even if its present designation of the Agios Theologos, did not bear strong testimony to the conjecture. I will not venture to say, that originally, it might not have had an earlier and different appropriation. During our absence Tackvore had been dispatched to the aga for permission to see the castle, and we found him at the khan with one of the aga's guards, who was to be our cicerone through the town.

He took us first into the church of St. Sophia, now a mosque. There are three aisles, and three domes or cupolas. The east end is not embowed, but straight, having two small windows over the altar, now the Kiblé. Some of the arches are

pointed, but many, evidently the oldest, circular. Outside, on the right of the north door, is what I thought might have been a baptistery, having been clearly a reservoir for water, though now filled up. We were desired to see an ancient bath, (not the same which I saw in my first journey, which contains the celebrated vase, *) but having

* For a small bacshish I was permitted to go into the bath in which stands the celebrated vase; though I had despaired of seeing it, as the bath was occupied by females during the morning, and subsequently by men; but to my surprise, I was actually admitted while a number of females were reclining on the marble benches around the vase. It seems that the laws of the Medes and Persians do not always hold good in Turkey, or that I was more favoured than Belon. He says, "Il y a des bains en certains endroits où les femmes vont seulement le *Jeudi* après midi; donc par erreur ainsi que je vouloye entrer en un baing comme ès autres jours, ne scachant point tel usage, trouvant la porte ouverte, comme de coustume, estant entrè dedans, trouvay une grande campagnie de femmes Turques,—mais si je n'eusse bien sceu le gagner de vistesse, j'estois en peril de mourir, car la loi de Mahomet est si rigoreuse en ces cas là, qu'un homme n'auroit moyens de se salver, si non en contre faisant du fol." The ladies, in the bath at Pergamus, so far from being alarmed or offended by the intrusion, even displayed a spirit of antiquarianism, and made some critiques on the beauty and age of the vase; and one actually reminded my conducteur to show me some inscriptions over the entrance of the bath. By a singular coincidence I was also here on a *Thursday*, the very day when poor Belon had such a happy escape from playing the fool.

little time, we went on to the khan, seeing on our way a great deal of wall of exactly similar construction with the Agios Theologos; but though in a line with it, too remote to have been united, except as an outer wall.

Mounting our horses, we proceeded to the acropolis; on our way visiting the Armenian church, in which we saw nothing deserving notice, though the priest pointed to a Greek inscription. It was brought from St. Sophia, and had in later Greek letters the word *Episcopos.*

We then ascended to the citadel, an undertaking of great labour for the poor horses, and it would have been impracticable for ourselves on foot, and examined its antiquities at our leisure. Mr. Turner calculates the height two hundred feet. Here must surely be some great typographical error; if not, let him try it once more, and in a June or July sun. The view was superb in the extreme, and with Mr. Cousinery's plan of the town, engraved in Choiseul, before us, as we were seated on the walls of the acropolis, we compared the different objects of antiquity in the town beneath.

We descended on foot about five o'clock, and

on our way went into the Greek church. Innumerable tapers and fires were burning in all directions in the churchyard, which was thronged with people; and the smell of the incense, though in the open air, was insupportable. The countless tapers seemed purposely lighted to convict me of mis-stating the *dark* appearance of the church within.* It was the anniversary of the mass for the dead, or what a Catholic would call reading over the Bede roll. Every one had a small bit of paper about two inches square, on which were written the names of his deceased relations, and the date of their decease, the price of authentication of which by the priest was ten paras. The schoolmaster, to whom I had formerly given a Testament, was removed, and his place supplied by a young man of prepossessing appearance, who has now fifty scholars.

While among the ruins of the acropolis, I caught several of that beautiful insect called *panorma coa*, and which is engraved in Captain Beaufort's

* "Though the sun was blazing in full splendour on all the scene without, this poor church was so dark within, that even with the aid of a glimmering lamp I could not distinctly see the figures on the screen."—*Visit to the Churches*, p. 281.

Caramania; and among a variety of other flowers, a beautiful small clustered pink, resembling that commonly called the pheasant-eyed. We had many boys with us, Greeks and Turks, one of the latter a particularly zealous cicerone, directing our attention to every thing that was curious. Mr. Brewer thought that the plains of the Caicus, &c., as seen from the citadel, resembled the ancient Sigma.

Having dined on roast lamb from the kabobji's, we went again to the Greek church, and after much conversation with the didascolos about establishing a school on the Lancastrian plan, he accompanied us to the metropolitan house, where all the priests were assembled to feast upon *colyba*, the funeral banquet.* We proposed our plan for the establishment of a school, and one of them accompanied us to the khan. We had brought some Greek Testaments with us from Smyrna, and the priest took four of them, paying a trifling price; for Mr. Brewer very judiciously remarked, that however trifling the purchase

* The principal ingredient is *boiled wheat*, in allusion, probably, to the cheering emblem presented by it of the resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 37.)

money, the book would be more prized than if gratuitously distributed. It was pleasing to see the anxiety of two boys to be the possessors each of a Testament, and they produced the money with so much good will, sixty paras, at that time about sixpence, that we departed at the outset from our resolution, and gave them the books.

The evening passed in the amusing society of a Turk, who was *tinkling* his alarum watch, a clumsy silver one, and pressing us unceasingly to purchase it at two thousand piastres, and in the frequent visits of coin-venders, one of whom, for a paltry Electrum, demanded twenty thousand piastres!

Saturday, June 5.—An attempt was made this morning by the aga to impose on us, by demanding thirty piastres haratch for Milcom; probably because yesterday we had not complied with the moderate demands of his man who conducted us to the castle. My firman soon settled the matter. We examined again the old building near the bridge, and felt assured that the centre part at least had been the church. The plaister, *painted*, still remains in some of the windows. From the striking conformity of the

brick-work with the remains of the churches at Sardis and Philadelphia, I should be disposed to believe the whole erection much posterior to Christianity. In a small apartment connected with the Agios Theologos, we saw a papas, an elderly man, keeping a small school. We proposed to assist him with the means of establishing a free-school, but he said the parents would not send their children. Mr. Brewer gave the other schoolmaster various articles of apparel to be distributed among the female children, as encouragements to attend the school. Returning to the khan, and experiencing again the imposition of the khanji and all the establishment, Greeks, we left Pergamus at half-past nine by the same road we had entered it yesterday; but it diverged soon a little to the right of the mountain. At a quarter before eleven crossed a river, having a few minutes before killed a phalangium of enormous size—at the same time a beautiful green lizard, by the road side, appeared so little accustomed to the sight of man, that it scarcely moved out of the way.

At eleven o 'clock we came abreast of the bridge over the Caicus, which we had crossed

yesterday, lying on our left at the distance of a mile and a half. Near it is a small rocky hill, at a distance resembling a tumulus: a number of hills detached from each other, but in a line with this hill, extend down the centre of the plain, probably connected once as a range, but insulated now by alluvial deposit. Passing a chifflek at twelve, these hills lay farther off, as our road diverged to the right close by the mountain range. At half-past twelve I alighted to examine a large serpent which had just been killed. It was yellow, and greenish below, and of a dusky colour above, with a small flattened head. There were formidable fangs in the upper jaw.

Mr. Brewer expressing some surprise at my familiarity with the snake family, I related to him what I will take the liberty of also relating to the reader, in proof that this attachment was also reciprocal.

About a month before the battle of Navarino, I had a visit from a bulky, rubicund Armenian, who, near the entrance of the Besestein, exercises the joint mysteries of umbrella-mender and coin vender. "Sare, bon jour, I come ask one little thing, oh tropo grande, Signor domine, very

good, will you give me ?"—" How can I say before I know ?"—" Oh, sare ! I ashamed to ask ; Sare, you have one head very good, multo bono. —" And is not one head enough for one man, my good friend ?"—" Signor Domine, you have one head very good, multo bono, oh ! give me a piece of your head."—" A piece of my head !—that may be rather inconvenient to me, without doing you much good."—" Sare, Signor, scusate, you have one living head very good, and one dead head, very good, multo bono." " More than I knew before, my friend."—" Sare, you have one dead head, Mizr,* will you give me un poco, mikro komati, dead head." I now found out he meant the head of an Egyptian mummy, and asked what he could possibly want it for ? " O sare, the one boy arrosti, molto malato, very sick ! take iatrico, plenty, plenty ; but molto malato, will you give him a bit of your head ?"

I had seen a drawer even in England, labelled *mummy*, but never saw it called out into actual service before ; and as the poor fellow's heart was evidently set on the wonder-working head, I placed it before him on the table. It had

* The common name in the East for Egypt.

been conveniently cut in two by some former possessor, in search of a golden coin of Ptolemy, and therefore the umbrella-mender had no difficulty in extracting as much of the embalming substance, strongly aromatic and dark as pitch, as would make about a dozen pills, and left me highly delighted. The following week, his gratitude had no bounds; the boy had taken the whole, and was perfectly restored to health.

The head was returned to its former position at the bottom of a black leather trunk, and a quantity of miscellaneous papers filled the space above it. The lid was fastened as usual, the door of the room locked, and the key taken out.

We left Smyrna for England soon after, and within another fortnight was fought the memorable battle of Navarino. The news of so unexpected an event produced such alarm in Smyrna, that a most valued friend, M. La Fontaine, went down to my house to place the more valuable property in a state of security. He unlocked the door of the apartment, in which, among a variety of miscellaneous articles, was the black leather trunk. Lifting the lid, and seeing it apparently filled with papers, he put down his hand

by the side to ascertain if it contained any thing of value. He withdrew it as suddenly, for his hand had come into contact with something of an icy coldness, and which notwithstanding seemed to have motion. Removing the papers, he saw the mummy head, and in one half of it, for it was open, lay snugly coiled up, and occupying the place of the brain, a thin-bodied, but very long snake!

How it came there is a mystery to this day, for door and windows were always closely fastened. Such, however, is the extraordinary fact, and two thousand years ago divine honours would have been paid to this favourite reptile of Esculapius, in the belief that it was the god himself personified, or at least his daughter Hygeia. Almost incredible as the relation may appear, it can be authenticated by the master of a merchant vessel, who begged the snake from M. La Fontaine, with the intention, I believe, of depositing it in the museum at Bristol.

At one o'clock, having just passed a chifflek on the mountain side called Arabah, the plain was divided by a range of hills shutting out the Caicus on our left. Here we saw two of those beautiful white birds of the crane form, with a

white plume or tuft behind the head called, I believe, Demoiselles. At half-past one we crossed a small clear river, the ancient Evenus, and soon after arrived by a paved road at a cafinet, where Milcom was disposed to stop: so were not we. Here the ranges of mountains nearly closed up the passage, but now we entered a spacious plain extending to the sea on the left, with the view of Mytelene beyond, and the mountain range still on our right. Near the foot of the mountain we saw some ruins, of which arches were visible, but apparently constructed with small stones, possibly not far from the site of Atarnea.

The plain we now entered was very luxuriant, cropped with corn, beans, &c., but very boggy, as we experienced to our no small discomfort. At half-past two, a tumulus lay close by the road on the right; and at twenty minutes after three we arrived at Kaspakumi Chifflek tou Makarouni, opposite Mitylene, where several small vessels were lying. All the way from Pergamus the sky was black as night behind us, but beautifully clear with a refreshing breeze in front. The population of this village was said

to be about one hundred Greeks, and a few Turks. *

During our stay here, about two hours, the Greek Testaments were again produced, and in so great request, that we parted with all our stock, one only reserved. One Greek, Greek-like, bargained hard for a reduction of price, which was only sixty paras, (sixpence,) and at last offered in payment a false piece of money! Another Greek gent. took me aside, and with a piteous story about two children, slaves to a Turk at Aiasmati, (whom he told Mr. Brewer, by the-bye, he was come from Syra to endeavour to steal away,) concluded with begging some money. I gave him a few piastres, and in return was led to infer I had given too little, as he instantly asked for a shirt and other apparel. We saw the two priests, one of whom, an old man, very *cautiously* received the books and tracts offered him, and looking as if he wished those about him should not have them.

We left the Makarouni Chifflek at half-past five, and at ten minutes after six a large square

* This is called in the map of Choiseul, *Tour des Agas.*

chifflek, or rather conac for troops, lay on the left, and a village on the mountain side at the right. At a quarter before seven we crossed a wide but shallow river running down to the sea, called the Aiasmati-chay, and soon after we arrived at Aiasmati. This is a small place of only one hundred Turkish houses, and forty Greeks. M. Choiseul supposes Aiasmati stands on the site of Attea: it may do so, but we found nothing, a few granite pillars in the mosques, and two or three fragments in the burial-ground excepted, to warrant the conjecture that an ancient town stood at Aiasmati.*

We walked about the village, seeing the conacs, the burial-ground, the Greek church, &c. The church was in the khan, probably for security, and only a few doors from our apartment. We found the old priest chanting the service, with about a dozen other persons. He returned our visit rather at an unusual and inconvenient hour, midnight, when we were in our beds, and pressed us much to remain the following day, a grand fete, being Whitsunday.

* I should rather think the ancient town will be found nearer the coast, and that it was not Attea, but Attalia.

Sunday, June 6.—We rose before four o'clock, but though we had given positive orders to have our horses ready to start at that hour, Milcom was not ready till past six. We attended the service of the church at five, and counted, including females, separated as usual, about forty persons. Each person, on entering, laid his one or two paras upon the plate, and took his taper, which, when lighted, was stuck on the stand before the skreen. They appeared miserably poor, but devout in their way; though the priest, from time to time, was *scolding* from within the screen, while the service was chaunting without. Mr. Brewer remarked a peculiarity in the manner of chaunting.

At half-past six o'clock we entered a charming olive grove, the trees, many of them, of great size and beauty, though the most part young. We were strongly reminded of the good and the wild olive tree in the eleventh chapter of Romans, and of the passage "oil out of the flinty rock," though here was a very fertile soil. We quitted it at half-past seven, when the view opened on all sides, and after passing through a vineyard, again entered the region of olives, but in an open

country. All the hills on the right were covered from summit to base, with olive trees. We saw also a few quinces to remind us we were in the neighbourhood of Cydonia. Numerous windmills in front of us were evidence that a town could not be far distant, but as Milcom assured us last night, that Aivali was at least three hours and a half from Aiasmati, we could not imagine that we were near it, till we had actually entered the town before eight o'clock, little more than one hour and half from Aiasmati, though we rode slowly.

The history of this interesting place is too well known. At the commencement of the revolution, Aivali had a population of nearly forty thousand. Her college was the admiration of foreigners; it constantly numbered three hundred and fifty scholars of all ages belonging to the town, the environs, and the isles. They were taught ancient and modern Greek; belles lettres, natural philosophy and mathematics, logic, rhetoric, and moral philosophy. The chairs were occupied by distinguished professors, recommended not less by their talents than by their virtues. On the 13th of June, 1821, Aivali became a heap of

cinders. The colleges, the hospitals, the churches, were all swept away by ravages of war.*

Nothing could be more heart-rending than to witness the wretched desolation presented on every side as we rode through the town; the houses, which covered a great extent of space in the bottom and up the sides of a high hill, being now almost levelled with the ground. Instead of the innumerable houses of lofty height, which existed eight years ago, naked roofless walls, of from five to fifteen feet. The population was returning, and at present, (1830,) the inhabitants are calculated from eight to ten thousand, rebuilding, of course, their ruined houses. I observed an elderly woman, in black, seated lonely within the ruins of a large mansion; her head reclined upon her hand in a posture of deep reflection. It had probably been the scene of earlier and happier days!

* Aivali, or Haivali, is supposed to be built on the ancient site of Heraclia; its modern name means in Turkish, as Kydonia in Greek, the town of Quinces. A very interesting account of the place, and especially of the college, is given by Rev. W. Jowett, in his Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, p. 58. He was there in 1818, of course before the Greek revolution, and when the numerous population was

Being Whit-Sunday, there was an appearance of neatness and cleanliness in the dress of the people in the midst of the surrounding wretchedness. The khan was a new one, built on an extensive scale, and very handsome. We anticipated more comfort and cleanliness than we found; the only chamber unoccupied, being sufficiently peopled with a numerous colony from Menimen. All the other rooms seemed occupied by Greek families in great poverty, the low price of an apartment, five piastres (not one shilling and sixpence) a month, inviting them to reside there.

flourishing and happy. The population was then estimated at 25,000. There were then a college, a library, and printing-press.

The college was built in 1803. Gregorius lectured on Ecclesiastical History, and Theophilus on Mathematics, when Mr Jowett was at Aivali.

Mr. Jowett illustrates the death of Eutychus by falling from a window in the upper chamber. The *country* houses of Mitylene, called Pyrgoi, illustrate this much more happily than those in the town; and if the "many lights" could have been understood of the open *Abatjours* all round the upper rooms in those houses, the illustration would have been complete; but λαμπαδες cannot be correctly so understood, and the "many lights" will be evidence of the truth of scripture history, as Troas, like Mitylene, might be said to be in the olive region, where oil was cheap.

It was almost a hospital, for there were many poor wretches afflicted with various disorders on every side of us. One poor lad from Adramyttium seemed very ill; I felt his pulse, and though a little quick, he was apparently free from fever. It was evidently the effect of excessive exhaustion and want of food! He was a stranger to every body in the khan, and it was pleasing to see a poor woman nursing him assiduously and giving him soup, though he had not a para to repay her!

Having breakfasted, we had many a visitor, and among others an intelligent Greek of better condition entered readily into our views of endeavouring, if not to raise up again the ancient college from its ruins, at least to do something for education, by establishing a school of *mutuel enseignement*. He was our cicerone through the town; and keeping the grand object of our journey in view, we requested to be shown the churches and existing school, for the purpose of finding a spot for the erection of another. We visited the site of the celebrated college, now a waste of stones, the walls only from five to six feet high. Here was ample space, and abundance of materials, but as our views were of a

humbler character, more in proportion to our means, than to refound a classical school, we quitted this place, indulging the pleasing anticipation that the day might yet arrive when, from the returning prosperity of the towns-people themselves, the chairs of the professors would be once more filled.

The ruins of two hospitals, one intended for that innovation of innovations in Turkey, a quarantine hospital, were next pointed out to us. And now commenced our survey of the churches.

To Agios Georgios, the church of St. George, we paid our first respects, as in duty became an Englishman; and I am not sure that my friend altogether disclaimed the national saint. Perhaps it was intended as a mark of respect to St. George's patronized country, that we were admitted behind the skreen, into what is still called Bomos by the Greeks, and shown a large crucifix, from either arm of which was suspended a bag. One contained the holy bread, kept in a small box, cut into very minute bits, to be given as the *viatica* to the sick; the other contained the wine. On the table was the sacramental bread, consecrated for the day, and cut also in

small square bits, like the usage in our own churches. The priest, as a singular mark of favour, presented us with the holy oil to smell to, made at Constantinople, by the patriarch on Holy Thursday, and distributed to all the churches. It certainly was not as odoriferous as myrrh, aloes, and cassia. Another mark of respect was to allow us to place our lips reverently on the richly bound Evangelion.

We next visited the church of the Virgin, called *Panagia ton Orphanon*, and behind it saw a space inclosed by a wall, about fifty feet by one hundred, which would do well for our school. We were shown others, but lastly that of St. Demetrius. Here we had a conversation with the only schoolmaster in Aivali, who had a small shed near the church, in which the sheets of the system of *mutuel enseignement* were suspended round the walls, but evidently only for show, not being at all in use; the few scholars being taught in the church entrance, and in the old way. The number of names in the list amounted to seventy-two, and the price by the month was from one piastre to fifty paras—from threepence to fourpence. The master seemed

disposed to take the direction of our proposed school, and looked intelligent. But the priests of this and the other churches did not seem to enter heartily into the plan, though our friendly cicerone said, "O they are *kaloi anthropoi*, good men, and eat and sleep famously."

Returned to the khan, we had a visit from two of the principal men of Aivali, friends of our guide. Mr. Brewer proposed our plan to them; that we were disposed to advance half the expense of building a school, and paying a master, on condition that the town should pay the other half. They, Greek-like, seemed to say they could not afford to pay any thing; but when we firmly gave as a *sine quâ non*, that we must be met half way, they proposed to assemble the leading men of the town, and have a consultation. Unfortunately, the Gerondes were gone to Mitylene, and would not return to day.

We were now honoured with a visit from the French consul, who had previously most politely sent his servant to offer any assistance. Though a native of Italy, he had sufficient vivacity and locomotion to have proved him a real Frenchman. He was here at the time of the catas-

trophe, and leaving his flag waving over the consular residence when the Turks were landing, he retired for safety to Musconisi. Returning, he found his house had been burnt to the ground, without any regard to the protecting flag, having been previously plundered of twenty thousand piastres, his own private property, besides *immense* property belonging to the towns-people, which had been placed in his magazines for security. His strong box and archives, as French and Austrian consul, were also destroyed. He subsequently retired to Rhodes, and has only returned to his post within the last three weeks.

The weather increasing in heat, we abandoned our excursion to the Troad, and dismissing Milcom and the horses to Smyrna, determined to pass over to Mitylene, and return to Smyrna by sea. Having reposed a little to refresh ourselves after the exposure to the sun, we walked in the evening to the top of the hill. The view, a magnificent panorama, included the Gulf of Adramyttium; and if it had not been so late, we might, with glasses, perhaps, have made out that town, and the ruins of Assos, if not somewhat of the Troad. But we were obliged to return, as it

grew late, and it was most affecting to traverse for such a length of way, through what had not long since been, for Turkey, a handsome city; now a heap of walls, undisturbed by any other sounds than the barking of dogs, and the mournful note of the *cucuvaia.*

On arriving below, where had once been what a Frenchman would call the *place,* we saw many well-dressed females hurrying to get towards the church of Agios Georgios—arrived there, the devotion consisted simply in many a bowing and crossing, not in the church, but in the open court towards it. We had many a painful feeling, and expressed it to the Greeks who visited us, to see such an anxiety to lavish money in rebuilding all the churches, while not a para could be spared to establish a school. Already *four* churches are restoring, for a population not at present exceeding eight or ten thousand, while at Smyrna, *three* churches suffice for more than thirty thousand!

Monday, June 7.—We would willingly have left Aivali to-day, for there was a great deal of sickness in the khan, and the water we drank of an unwholesome quality; but the wind blew too strong to venture across to Mitylene in an open

boat. We had a visit from a deputation headed by a priest, who were collecting subscriptions for rebuilding the churches. They presented us with a plate already plentifully heaped with gold and silver coin, and requested our assistance. Mr. Brewer very properly and firmly expressed our sentiments, that it was a reflection, not to say disgraceful, to make the scanty population, wretchedly poor as they were, contribute to the rebuilding and ornamenting so many churches, when not the smallest disposition was shown to benefit these poor people in return, by erecting a school. Of course, we declined giving any thing.

The French consul pressed us with so much hospitality to dine with him, that we could not refuse; the dinner hour was half-past one. The consular mansion, more humble than its predecessor, consisted of three rooms:—viz. a kitchen on the left, and two rooms, not yet plaistered, on the right of the entrance. We met the Russian consul, just arrived from Constantinople, and yesterday from Mitylene. He was also resident here at the time of the catastrophe of Aivali, and shared in the fate of the others, having his house

plundered, and burnt to the ground. He was now on his return, and preferring Mjtylene as a residence, being consul at both places, came here to-day to have his firman read by the aga. Small as the house was, we were entertained in a most magnificent style, and after dinner went to see a boat recommended by the consul to convey us to Mitylene.

As it would evidently require time before our plan for the erection of a large public school for boys could be carried into effect, Mr. Brewer proposed that we should try what could be done for the female children; and our Greek friend and cicerone took us to the houses of two young Greek girls, whom he recommended as capable of keeping a school on the new system; the expense of which I agreed to share with Mr. Brewer. They were both very young and intelligent, one being only fourteen, who had been educated some months in the new schools established at Syra, through the exertions, in the first instance, of Mr. Brewer, and subsequently of my friend, the Rev. Henry Leeves. She wrote remarkably well, but did not read so well as the other, who taught on the old system. We proposed to

give them thirty piastres a month each, and twenty more to find a room for a school. The evening was spent in sketching an appeal to be sent by us to England and America, petitioning assistance for the re-establishment of schools at Aivali and the Seven Churches; perhaps this will be given at the end of the journal. While thus engaged, we were intruded upon by a drunken half crazy Greek, of deistical and infidel principles, and who would not leave us till compelled to do so.

Thursday, June 8.—This night, notwithstanding every precaution of sweeping, and washing, and shaking, &c. we were more restless than ever; the fleas were more than "*industrious,*" and seemed determined to destroy us. I could fancy they were the unquiet spirits of the Turkish desolaters of Aivali, jealous of our anxiety to re-establish order and good principles. Our captain summoned us early, having, Greek-like, first made most imposing terms of twenty piastres for taking us to Mitylene, or one hundred if we proceeded to Smyrna. We embarked with some hesitation, from the violence of the wind, and the smallness of the vessel, deeply loaded with tiles, bags of cotton, &c.

It was about half-past nine when we set sail, having waited a full hour for the other passengers, and their teskerays, or permits for the bags of cotton, &c. They were a mixed party of Turks and Greeks. At ten o'clock we had crossed the passage to the island of Musconisi with a strong but fair breeze, and were at this time in the narrow passage formed by a monastery on the left, a square embattled low building, like the Sanjiac castle at Smyrna, and the town of Musconisi on the right. The latter, of which the ancient name was Poroselene, is beautifully built along the base and ascent of a hill, having some hundreds of houses, most of which, like Aivali, were a mass of ruins, and surmounted by a lofty tower-like building. This our antiquaries on board told us was ancient Ellenic, and had been in part thrown down by an earthquake about fourteen months before; the country around the town was still the region of olives.

We now passed through a narrow opening, formed by stakes driven into the water on each side, serving the double purpose of a weir for fish, and to mark the passage, the water being very shallow on either side. It was so narrow,

that the sides of our little caick were scratched in passing it. Outside, the channel opened considerably, and in a few minutes we skilfully stuck hard aground. The boat, deeply loaded within six inches of the first streak, though some canvas placed above, made it appear much more, was not to be started, and with the assistance of all the passengers on board and overboard, the Turks good-naturedly undressing, and going into the water, we did not get off till eleven o'clock.

One of our Turkish passengers was a conjurer, performing feats with cards, passing an iron ring through the cheek, &c., and melodising our ears with a tambourine and a song. His assistant, a poor wretched boy, was so filthy, that in our constant endeavours to avoid too near an approach to him, our eyes were diverted, and we could not enjoy the beauty of the view as we approached the castle, and charming town, and olive-clothed mountains, of Mitylene.

It was about one o'clock when we arrived; and having found our way to the house of Mr. Moyardo, the Spanish vice-consul, he received us most hospitably in his small but beautifully placed cottage, situated just under the magnifi-

cent castle, and commanding a delicious view of the opposite lofty mountains, covered to the base with olive-groves and country houses. Having rested a short time, and directed Tackvore to make a few additions to the consular kitchen, being sudden and unexpected guests, Mr. Moyardo offered to show us the town. He took us first to the metropolitan church, in which, among other curiosities, is a picture painted in 1815, of the martyrdom of a young Greek called Theodore, who no long time before was put to death in Mitylene under similar circumstances with those of the Greeks lately beheaded at Smyrna. The picture represents the various parts of his story, as his interviews with the mollah and Turkish authorities—in prison—various tortures, &c. He is now canonized as Agios Theodorus.

In the court of the church is the celebrated marble chair with the inscription ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΘΕΔΡΙΑ. There was a Potamon at Mitylene in the time of Strabo. We then paid a visit to the despotes or bishop, lately arrived from Constantinople. He received us very politely, and conversed with us on the feasibility of establishing a school at Mitylene; but he seemed to think

the people were too poor, and a great part of the year the children were absent with all the population at work among the olive plantations; Mytilene, at such seasons, being almost deserted. We saw externally the new mosque. Oh! would it were, from its beauty, a Christian place of worship!

We were then shown a pretty garden of the governor's son; and soon after, the tomb of the regretted and amiable musselim of Smyrna, who was beheaded by the capitan pasha on the landing-place of Mitylene, in violation of the solemn guarantee given by him to Mr. Werry, the late consul, that his life should not be endangered! It has two stones covered as usual with inscriptions, inclosed within a low wall, over and near which, the cypress, and cedar, and plane, throw a mournful and sympathizing shade. At a short distance stands the kiosk of the capitan pasha when he visits the island, and the musselim's tomb must ever be to him a powerful memento of the instability of his own greatness.

At the dinner-table our party was, Madame Moyardo, a Greek of Mitylene, to whom the house and a charming garden belonged, and her

sister Margaret, a very pleasing well-bred young lady, speaking good Italian. In Signor Moyardo's dining-room was a common loom for weaving cotton, and the walls were ornamented with ships, &c., not by Vandervelde. Much fatigued by want of sleep the preceding nights, I anticipated ample compensation when my bed was spread on the floor in the drawing-room, as the place d'honneur. Alas! I could close my eyes but once, and then dreaming of an attack by robbers, called out lustily on all the king's loyal subjects to come to my aid. The robbers were "the industrious," and their attack was terrible.

Wednesday, June 9.—On our way to the Ellenic school this morning, for Mitylene possesses an Ellenic school, we saw the bust of a female figure lying on the quay, and then a beautiful metope of the head of Perseus with garlands and boys, in the castle wall. We were not permitted to enter the castle, though Tackvore was sent to the governor to solicit permission. Very possibly within it, as at Bodrun, (Halicarnassus,) there may be many interesting remains. At the Ellenic school, the schoolmaster recognized in Mr. Brewer an old acquaintance, of Constanti-

nople, and expressed his joy by an un-English salute. He was, said Mr. Brewer, the best master in Constantinople, but quitted it for Syra, where he was disappointed, and had lately arrived in Mitylene. He had one hundred and thirty boys, some of whom read Demosthenes, Xenophon, &c., extremely well.

During our dinner at Mr. Moyardo's, he rather surprised me by an account of *two lions* which were seen by him and many persons near the castle some years ago; that they were never seen after, and he supposed some one had carried them off in a boat. I ventured to hint that I probably misunderstood him, and that instead of the living monarch of the forest, they were lions of marble; but his excellency explained that they were living lions, and in proof of it, told us that at one time he had missed a cow, and at another time a horse, much in the same place. If lions are at Mitylene, why should not Mr. Jolit have seen *one* near Smyrna?

Towards evening, as the weather became a little cooler, though still oppressively hot, we called on the English vice-consul, a Cephaleniote, Signor Petearki; he received us with open arms,

and proposed to show us sights which Signor Moyardo's antiquarian knowledge had overlooked. He took us first to the ruins of a small Greek church, the emplacement, it is said, of the temple of Apollo, and there were many evidences of it, in old walls, fragments, and inscriptions.

As Mr. Brewer and I had formed a plan to take a house here for the summer months, by which our families would avoid the excessive heats of Smyrna, and we could superintend our projected school here and at Aivali, we expressed a wish to see the country-houses, and proceeded out of the town, stopping however at first, to see many fragments and inscriptions near another spot, once also a small church. Not far from hence we went into one of the Mitylene country-houses, called, as all the others are, by the general name of Pyrgos, or tower, from its form, being a high building with a basement, and two, sometimes three stories, each containing usually only one room. The uppermost has generally on one or more sides the entire space filled with windows, or rather *abatjours*, to enjoy the views, which are magnificent in the extreme. This house was to be let, but independently of its

being too small for both our families, the wide crevices in the walls without, and the unsociable chasms in the staircase and floorings of the rooms within, made us apprehend the possible fate of the Ellenic tower at Musconisi.

We quitted it therefore in pursuit of others, and passed through a succession of delicious gardens, in one of which, having a mat spread beneath a tree, we enjoyed a cool draught of water, while the consuls refreshed themselves with a sufficiency of raw cucumbers. It was evident that consularian influence stood high here, at least for the honour of England, that of Signor Petrarki. As we wished to see something more of the country-houses, Moyardo and a little gentleman in the employ of the Russian vice-consul, returned, leaving the English vice-consul with us as cicerone.

Under his auspices we ventured into the metropolitan pyrgos, the bishop's country seat, most charmingly placed near the edge of the water, and surrounded, as all the others, by thick groves of large olive-trees, fig-trees, &c. We sat in a delicious kiosk, in the garden before the door, in which was a fountain or reservoir of re-

freshing water. A bunch of something resembling red poppies hung over the grand door of entrance, whether a tribute of respect, or to drive away the Vroukelakas, we could not learn. We saw many other houses, some of which were to be let, all built precisely on the same plan as the first described.

On our return towards the town, we found Signor Moyardo and two friends with him near a large field of fine wheat under the castle walls. These gentlemen bantered poor Moyardo sadly on his want of influence with the governor; the wheat-field belonged to his wife, and the governor thought proper to take possession of it without asking leave. It stood in his wife's name as a rayah, and therefore poor Moyardo had no redress. The same injustice had been exercised towards him in depriving his wife of a beautifully situated house, near his own. It was convenient for the tacticos, new troops, and was therefore taken without payment, and is now a ruin.

On arriving at the consulate, over the door of which, on an oval shield, were the insignia of Sardinia, as within, over the dining-room sofa,

was another with the stars of America, by a Mitylene artist; and a third, in the bed-room, of his most Catholic majesty, we saw a host of consuls, French, Imperial, &c., assembled at the door. Entering, we found the table-cloth again spread—the repast was a pyrgos of rice, powdered with cinnamon.

Thursday, June 10.—Tackvore found a caick bound to Smyrna, and to sail this morning, and therefore we tried to excuse ourselves from a pressing invitation of the English vice-consul to dine with him, but he would take no excuses; and it was arranged that we should dine at one o'clock, and embark at four. The morning passed in a long conversation with the schoolmaster, who entered warmly into our plans about a school, and in returning the visits of the Imperial and French consuls.

The representative of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his lady, married at fourteen and with half a dozen children about her, received us most kindly, and entertained us most sumptuously. Mr. Moyardo and the Russian consul, with some other gentlemen, were of the party, and the glasses were knocked together till nearly in

shivers, in doing honour to what was intended for "God save the King," though but two of the party could pronounce a syllable of it. Our most hospitable host detained us till the reis of our caick summoned us impatiently on board. But we could not leave the island without paying our respects to the governor. We had repeatedly called, but he had not arrived from the country.

He received us most kindly, and when we mentioned the possibility of our temporary residence at Mitylene, and the object of it, he expressed much satisfaction. He is an old man, in appearance about seventy, though he told Moyardo he was only sixty-one, of very venerable and dignified physiognomy. From the quantity of papers and letters about him, all *orderly* arranged, he was evidently a man of great business, as he must be of great fortune, imitating the example of the Pasha of Egypt, and constituting himself almost the only merchant in the island, by a monopoly of all its produce. His conac had a stately appearance, and his ante-rooms were crowded with attendants, and persons waiting for business.

Our English consul began to talk much and loudly to him, on a subject of which we understood little, except that it related to the influx of persons arriving here without being regularly supplied with passports. The governor evidently did not like the conversation, and gave symptoms of growing uneasy. We, therefore, offered our parting compliments, through Tackvore, who was an excellent dragoman, and taking leave also of our good friends the *proxenoi*, went on board our caick, at half-past three o'clock.

We found it pretty well filled—a small boat which lay in the open hold, had in it a Greek woman and three young children—there were other passengers, Turks and Greeks; and the crew seemed to consist of three men and a lad, who might be called the steward, as he was at the call of every body, every instant. We took possession of the quarter-deck, seated on our haybays, (travelling bags,)—our reis or captain was at the steerage, obliging and communicative, and perhaps more than usual, because he was the ex-adelphos (cousin) of Madame Moyardo. Our backs turned upon Mitylene, we could not enjoy much of the charming view of

the town, the sun being very powerful and our umbrellas spread. We made but little way, and had the coast of Mitylene four hours on our left. The captain, who was quite at home in the antiquities of his country, pointed out to us the sites of the various places on the opposite coast, as Aiasmati, &c., some considerable distance to the south of which I observed something like buildings on the edge of the water; and he said it was called Dekeli, and that these were the ruins of a castle. This is probably the site of Atarnea, and the few remains we had seen on our way from Pergamus must be near this, though a little more in the interior. More to the south still was a point of land, near which, a place called by the captain, Ajanos. This in the map of Choiseul is called Kanot-keuy, and supposed to be the site of the town of Canœ. Ajanos seems only a corruption of Ægan, which Strabo says was only another name for the promontory of Cane.

The wind now freshened; but from the east, a side wind; and one of its first effects was to carry off the hat of my friend Mr. Brewer, which being well fitted up for a hot day, with co-

verings and linings of white and green, was too valuable to be lost. I mention it only as an evidence of the skilfulness of Greek sailors, who, after much manœuvring in tacking and retacking, succeeded in recovering it.

As we passed the point *below* Ajanos our *Strabo*, the reis, told us that between that point and the river called in the large Turkish map, Pitane, there was a small *lake* with considerable remains of marble, that the water ran down from it, and that *below*, near the water's edge, was a large hole, τρυπη, which leads all the way to Pergamus! This story serves to fix the site of Pitane, the river being the Evenus; and an aqueduct conveyed water from this river, not to Pergamus but to Adramyttium. Ευηνος εξ ου το υδραγωγειον πεποιηται τοις Αδραμηττηνοις.

The town of Sanderli, we were told, was near this, containing three hundred houses. The wind being very light, we were a long time in passing down to the southern point of the gulf. Our fellow passengers amused themselves in taking their evening respast in select groupes, with all the usual delicacies of small sardanas swimming in oil, rancid black olives, &c. washed down

with copious draughts from a bottle of rackee. This last was, however, confined to the gentlemen Greeks. The crew and poorer passengers substituted a milder beverage from a large water jar. A groupe of Turks were squatted down near us, and regaled us with plentiful odours of garlic, which with cheese and bread formed their *batterie de cuisine*. Mr. Brewer and I, excited by so prevailing a taste, opened our stores, supping frugally enough on cheese, fruit, and crackers; we had also our water jar, the kind present of our considerate friend the French consul of Ayvali. The Greeks enlivened us by singing, by way of dessert.

The wind now blew off the land, and sufficiently strong to carry us as low as Foglieri, when the captain fearing it would become a head wind, put into the port about half-past twelve. As he told us he should not quit it again till day-break, we left the boat, and tried to get admission into the café, on the beach; and Mr. Brewer solicited feelingly for a cup of coffee; but the hard-hearted cafidji was not to be disturbed, and we were compelled to spread ourselves upon the mats in the balcony. The mats

were too well tenanted already, and we descended to the *Rez au chaussé*, and seated ourselves more humbly on the bench before the door. At the first dawn of day, we took a walk through the town, and on the castle walls.

We re-embarked at half-past five o'clock, but the calm continuing, made but little way with the oars. We examined leisurely the coast as we passed along, and saw nothing that corresponded with the low tongue of land which was said to divide the two ports of Phocæa till we came to a place called Hadjilar Limene, where was a good bay, having for its lower boundary the long piece of land, or promontory, at the back of which, and in continuation of it, is the peaked hill seen from Smyrna, so conspicuous from its form.

About eight o'clock we breakfasted *en gourmand* on a bit of Greek cheese, bread and water. The calm continued, and at half-past nine we were in the open reach, at the head of which is the æstuary of a river, called Giphiri chay, the Bridge river; the captain said it came from a mountain not far off, and passed by Halvage-keuy, the village on the left going from Menimen to Guzel-hissar, not that on the mountain

slope to the right. The wind freshened a little, and we landed in Smyrna about noon.

Soon after our return, the *appeal* which had been sketched among the ruins of Aivali in behalf of that place, and the Seven Churches, was forwarded by Mr. Brewer, in our joint names, to his countrymen. I felt so deeply interested in the subject, and perhaps a little jealous that America should have the exclusive honour of responding to this appeal, that I pledged myself on the behalf of my countrymen, perhaps rather prematurely, that whatever might be the amount of subscription in America and England, I would contribute an equal sum. It was most warmly received and supported in America, the press kindly lending their charitable aid, and the appeal appeared in the public papers.

I wish I could say as much. It was sent by me to England, and to ensure the certainty of its publicity, I took the liberty, perhaps an unauthorized liberty, of transmitting it through a channel, which of all others I fondly flattered myself would ensure the warmest reception for it. I had calculated more sanguinely than I had a right to do—and after an interval of three years,

our appeal, I believe, has never appeared in England.

The preceding journal will be some evidence that I had the cause of education as much at heart as any one; and had our appeal been made known in England, I might have enjoyed the pleasure of realizing, conjointly with Mr. Brewer, the objects of the cause we attempted to advocate.

The cause of education has, notwithstanding, gained instead of suffering—and the Church Missionary Society, in sending out Mr. Jetter, have placed it in much more efficient hands than mine. I bear willing testimony to the success with which that gentleman's exertions have been attended at first among the Greeks, and at present with the Turks.

DISCOVERY OF THE RUINS OF AZANI.

Of recent discoveries in Asia Minor, there is perhaps none more important than that of the city of Azani. The ruins have latterly been visited by several travellers, among them Major the Hon. George Keppel, in 1829, who has given a detailed and excellent account of the ruins and inscriptions. But the merit of the original discovery is wholly due to the present Earl of Ashburnham, at that time Viscount St. Asaph; and the following obliging letter from his Lordship will perfectly establish his right to be called the discoverer of Azani. It will appear by it, that his Lordship visited the ruins in 1824. Count Alexander de la Borde and Dr. Hall, or rather, I believe, the latter alone, were at Azani in 1827. Messrs Caillé and Stamati in 1830. These gentlemen were employed by Monsieur Michaud, the historian of the Crusades. In the same year Mr. Meredith visited Azani, accompanied probably by Mr. D'Israeli and Mr. Clay.

Brighton Feb. 20, 1289.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that it is not in my power to send you any more precise information concerning the situation of Chavdour than is contained in the following extract from my journal. I have added a few observations on the remains, which I conceive prove that place to be the site of the ancient capital of the Azanitis, but the loss of the greater part of my papers, and a conviction of the necessity of trusting to the few notes that I have left, rather than to memory, will prevent my attempting more than a very slight and general account of that place.

The task, however, of describing these very interesting remains has fallen into abler hands than mine, if the report be true, that Chavdour, since I was there, has been visited by a distinguished French traveller, who is preparing to give the public an account of his residence in Asia Minor.

July 24, 1824.—I set out from Kiutaia at half-past three A. M., and at two P. M. arrived at Chavdour.

There is probably a shorter road than the one

I took from Kiutaia to Chavdour: indeed I was told before setting out, that the journey might be performed in seven hours.

July 26.—Left Chaodour in the evening and reached Gheddiz after a ride of five hours and a half.

It takes nearly twenty-four hours, (stoppages not included,) to go from Gheddiz (Cadi) to Koula.

The geographical position of Kiutaia has, I believe, been exactly ascertained, and is correctly laid down in Colonel Leake's map of Anatolia: but as, when that map was constructed, Gheddiz had been visited by no European traveller, it is possibly not marked with equal accuracy; a similar reason will account for the error, should there be one, as I apprehend there is, in the situation or the extent assigned to the Azanitis, and in the rise and course attributed to the Rhyndacus.

The name of Azani occurs in more than one inscription at Chavdour; and as they are engraved on the cell of a temple, and consequently, are not liable to the objection made to your *Apollonian* inscription found at Deenare, their

evidence may, I think be considered as decisive of the identity of the place.

The temple upon which the inscriptions are cut is of the Ionic order, and, if I mistake not, of that class which Vitruvius (lib. iii. c. 1.) calls Pseudodipteral. It, however, presents more peculiarities both in its plan and elevation than could well be described within the compass of a note, or explained without a drawing. Two sides are thrown down, and the others are almost entire.

I had no means of measuring the columns very correctly, but I think I do not err much in assigning them a diameter of about three feet.

The theatre appears to have been connected with another structure, probably a stadium; but instead of being parallel to the scene of the theatre, as has been found in several instances in Asia Minor, (vide Colonel Leake's work, p. 244,) the latter is, as it were, formed by prolonging the extremities of the cavea beyond the scene, in parallel lines.

This edifice, as well as the temple, is constructed of a coarse grey marble, some blocks, from their great size and irregular shape, seem to have

belonged to a more ancient building. Most, or all of the architectural remains, at this place, are of the same material as the temple. Among them I should mention a bridge, many columns apparently standing in the situations for which they were originally designed, and long lines of tombs, as the most perfect and conspicuous objects among the multitude of ruins, that are widely scattered around the modern and inconsiderable village of Chavdour.

I will only add that I have no where seen in Asia Minor, so much of ancient architecture *standing* as at Chavdour. The ruins of Ephesus or of Assos, may be as numerous or more so; but they do not convey nearly so perfect a notion of what they originally were, and from this cause, as well as from my inability to appreciate their merit, I may be mistaken in supposing that the architectural remains at Ephesus, though more richly decorated, present no purer specimen of the art than the temple at Azani.

I remain,

Your very obedient servant,

St. ASAPH.

SMYRNA.

[The following account of Smyrna, having been most unaccountably omitted in the "Visit to the Seven Churches," is now for the first time presented to the public, with some additions on the present state of Smyrna.

The writer has been much indebted to those who have preceded him—Dr. Chandler, and Mr. Dallaway, but especially to Œconomos, the talented and respected master of the Ellenic school.]

SMYRNA.

EVERY person who has visited Constantinople describes in enthusiastic terms the effect of a first view of that splendid city; the first sight of Smyrna, especially when approached by sea, must also produce a strong impression. Vastly inferior in size, as well as in grandeur, to the metropolis, still it presents a picture of indescribable beauty, particularly striking to every one who compares for the first time an Ionian sky with the cloudy atmosphere of western Europe. It made at least a most powerful impression upon me in 1822, as in a summer evening, just before sun-set, we came to an anchor near the Marine Castle. The bay has been compared, not unfrequently, to that of Naples, and divesting the latter of the charms with which ages of Italian refinement have clothed her

shores, and reducing each to their natural features, Smyrna perhaps would not suffer much by the comparison.

The acclivities of Mount Pagus and the plain beneath, covered with innumerable houses, the tiled roofs and painted balconies, the domes and minarets of mosques glowing and glittering with the setting sun; the dark walls of the old fortress crowning the top of the mountain, and the still darker cypress-groves below; shipping of every form and country covering the bay beneath; flags of every nation waving on the ships of war, and over the consulate houses; picturesque sacolevas, and innumerable caicks skimming along the surface of the waves; mountains on both sides of stupendous height and extraordinary outline, the effect of volcanoes or earthquakes, tinted with so strong a purple, that neither these nor the golden streaks on the water could safely be attempted to be represented even by a Claude: at the margin of the water on the right, meadows of the richest pasture, the velvet turf contrasted with the silvery olive, and covered with cattle and tents without number.

All this will at once tell the classical traveller

that he sees before him " the queen of the cities of Anatolia, extolled by the ancients under the title of the *lovely*, the *crown of Ionia*, the *ornament of Asia*." It will remind the Christian that he is arrived at Smyrna, the church favoured so much beyond all the other churches of the Apocalypse ; the only city retaining any comparison with its original magnificence.

Ephesus, the mart of all nations, the boast of Ionia, the *eye of Asia*, has long been in the darkness of primitive non-existence ; the streams of her commerce, like her own numerous ports, are all dried up. The proconsular chair of Laodicea is now occupied by the vulture and the jackall. At Sardis, where once a Solon reminded Crœsus of his mortality, the solitary *cucuvaia* awakens the same reflection ; and if Philadelphia, Thyatira, and Pergamus, continue to exist, it is a state of being infinitely degraded from that which they once enjoyed. Smyrna alone flourishes still. Her temples and public edifices are no more ; but her opulence, extent, and population, are certainly increased.

The origin of Smyrna, in common with that of most ancient cities, is involved in fable.

Œconomos, in a little pamphlet published about fifteen years ago, valuable as well from the information it contains, as from the purity of its style, says, that according to the most probable chronology, Smyrna was built in Æolia, 1139 years before Christ, though some give it a still earlier origin. Stephanus of Byzantium, and the orator Aristides, call the city Tantalis, as if built by Tantalus, who at first named it Naulochos. It was afterwards called Smyrna, from one of the Amazons. The foundation of Smyrna, as well as Cyme in Æolia, is said by Herodotus to have been by Theseus, who named the city after his wife Smyrna. But in another part of his history, he says it was built by the Colophonians: perhaps he only means the second occupation of their city by the Smyrneans, after having been compelled to reside at Colophon, and seek assistance of the Colophonians against their Æolian enemies.

The more plausible opinion of the origin of Smyrna is that of Strabo. That accurate and learned geographer says, that a part of Ephesus was first called Smyrna from one of the Amazons, and that a number of these Ephesians came

and inhabited Æolian Smyrna, driving out the Leleges, an ancient people of Caria, and named it after the Ephesian Smyrna. It would appear from hence, that Smyrna has the honour of being an Athenian colony, for such were the Ephesians who came into Asia under the command of Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens; and to this the old epigrammatist is supposed to allude, when he calls Homer an Athenian as well as a Smyrnean:

Ἡμὲτερος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ χρύσεος ἦν πολιήτης·
Εἴπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἀπωκίσαμιεν.

The Smyrneans in this early period of their history were not unworthy of this honourable descent. They shone in wisdom and in prowess equally with the Milesians, the Ephesians, the Colophonians, and the other Ionian states; and if Clazomene boasted of her Anaxagoras, and Miletus of her Anaximenes and Thales, Smyrna could boast, among a multitude of other illustrious men, her offspring, of Homer, the immortal father of Grecian literature. The contest so successfully maintained by the Smyrneans against their neighbours of Æolia, attests their courage,

rewarded by their dismemberment from the province of Æolia, and association with the Ionian cities. "So lovely and worthy to be contended for," says Strabo, "was ancient Smyrna, that the two most renowned nations of Asia, the Ionians and Æolians, fought for her as for a virgin of exquisite beauty."

A season of undisturbed prosperity proved as dangerous to Smyrna as it has usually been to other great and opulent cities. The voluptuousness of her citizens gave rise to the ancient saying, "Ionian luxury, and Smyrnean manners." Their courage unnerved by effeminacy of manners, they were unable to oppose the Lydians, against whom, at an earlier period, they had made a successful stand. Their city was destroyed, and the population scattered among the surrounding villages. This reverse of fortune is feelingly commemorated by Theognis in his elegies:

Ὑβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα
Καὶ Σμυρναν.

Strabo and Pausanias assure us, that they dwelt four hundred years in the villages around

the ruins of their city; probably near, if not on the very site of those beautiful villages wherein the Smyrneans have their country retreats in the present day. Bournabat, with its gardens of gold; Narlekeuy, and its shady groves of pomegranates; Hadjelar, and its lovely and fruitful olives; Bournarbashi, the ancient Periclysta, and its crystalline streams; Cuclujah, and its elevated prospects; Boujah, still retaining in its name the memory of the Paradeisos; Sedikeuy, with its flowers and delightful mountains;—the natural beauties of all these, preserve in great measure the same character as in the earlier periods of their history.

In submitting to the Persian yoke, Smyrna only suffered in common with the other cities of Ionia, the Archipelago and all Greece, the Peloponnesus only excepted, to which and the Athenian fleet, the Archipelago and the whole of Lesser Asia owed their deliverance. It was reserved for Alexander the Great to inflict the latest and most signal vengeance of Greece upon her Persian enemy. This great conqueror crossing over from Europe into Asia, that he might plant his victorious ensigns in the very vitals of

Persia, testified the greatest respect for the illustrious citizens of Smyrna, and, in accordance with a certain oracle, resolved to raise up again the ancient country of Homer. He, therefore, collected the fellow-citizens of the poet from the villages, and assembled them in one city, the Smyrna of the present day, built partly on the slopes of Mount Pagus, and partly on the plain which lies below it towards the sea.

Present Smyrna, according to Strabo, is distant from the old city twenty stadia, that is, three quarters of a French league, or, according to Turkish calculation, three quarters of an hour. It is not so easy to ascertain the precise situation of ancient Smyrna from ancient authorities. Ancient Smyrna lay near the river Meles, built near the sea within the boundaries of Æolia, at a place called by the Turks Daragatz. According to this position, which is determined by Strabo, and even by Homer, it appears that the old city extended as far as the baths of Diana, or, as the place is named in Turkish, the banks of the Chalkabounari; and some foreign travellers have called this streamlet the Meles. But Strabo clearly calls that river which now flows

under the caravan-bridge, the Meles. Aristides, a native of Smyrna, does the same; and this appears to be the truth.

Unquestionably, ancient Smyrna was situated in Æolia. The oracles ordered the Smyrneans to cross (pass on the other side of) the Meles, and to erect their new city upon Mount Pagus:

Τρισμάκαρες κεῖνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται,
Οἵ Πάγον οἰκήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῖο Μέλητος.

Pagus is the mountain on which present Smyrna is built. Coming from Æolia, we cross no stream deserving the name of a river but the river of the caravan-bridge. This must be therefore the Meles, and Strabo is right. But those who are of a different opinion say that *old* Smyrna lay *near* the river Meles, and not so far off as it appears at present. Admit this to be true, yet the Meles has been diverted in the course of ages from its original bed; and even now, in the overflows of winter, it washes the fringes (τα κραδπεδα) of ancient Smyrna. But whatever be the Meles, and wherever may the site of old Smyrna, the present city was founded by Alexander, according to Pausanias, or by his successors

Antigonus and Lysimachus, in the opinion of Strabo; so that it is already near two thousand three hundred years old.

The site selected by Alexander was such as the ancient founders commonly preferred. Their cities in general were seated by some hill or mountain, which, as this did, supplied them with marble, and was commodious as well for defence as ornament. The side or slope afforded a secure foundation for the seats of the stadium and theatres, lessening both the labour and expense; it displayed the public and private structures, which rose from its quarry, to advantage, and rendered the view as captivating as noble. The Greeks were of old accounted happy in choosing their situations—they had been studious to unite beauty with strength, and good ports with a fertile soil. The Romans were attentive to articles neglected by them, to the paving of the ways, to aqueducts, and to the common sewers.

Under the Roman emperors Smyrna was esteemed the most beautiful of the Ionian cities. If we may believe Philostratus, this city rose to such a height, that none of the cities of present Europe are worthy to be compared with it. The

mart, the arts and sciences, the public and private buildings, the civil polity and philanthropy of the Smyrneans, reached the highest step of mortal perfection. Temples, schools of every science, and particularly of medicine, baths, hospitals, extensive quadrangular stoas or porticoes, streets as straight as the site would admit, and excellently disposed; and these, as well as the public ways, paved both above and below; drains of wonderful construction, theatres, gymnasia, libraries. All this compelled even the austere Strabo to exclaim, on the first view of Smyrna, "This is the most beautiful city in the world!"

Pausanias relates that there were statues of the most exquisite workmanship of the Nemeses and Graces, who were particularly revered by the Smyrneans—an Odeon, and an Æsclepium, the latter built in his time. In the reign of the emperor Hadrian, the youth flocked for education to the colleges of Smyrna from the Archipelago and the continent; whence it was named, "The *grove of the eloquence of the sages*, the *museum of Ionia*, the *domicile of the Graces and the Muses.*

A letter of the emperors Severus and Caracalla, conferring distinguished honours on the

citizens of Smyrna, is quoted by Spon; and the Oxford marbles bear much honourable testimony to Smyrna. But the most striking evidences of the glory of ancient Smyrna are to be collected from her medals. On some of these we see that Smyrna had a Prytaneum, the coins bearing that legend, and the portrait of Jupiter. He was worshipped in the present acropolis, and which, Pausanias says, was called Koryphea, and contained the temple of Jupiter Koryphæus or Jupiter Acræus.

In the Συνεδρια, or Κοινα of the Asiatic states, who assembled to vote money for the erection and repair of temples, Smyrna became the metropolis, as appears from the coins of Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Maximus, and Maximin, Gordian, and Gallienus—ΠΡΩΤΩ . ΚΟΙΝΑ . ΑΣΙΑΣ . ΣΜΥΡΝ. That the citizens were esteemed the *chief*, ΠΡΩΤΟΙ, of Asia, is confirmed by Tacitus. The most distinguished cities of Asia were ambitious of alliance with Smyrna. A multitude of medals contain the OMONOIA, or alliance of Smyrna with the cities of Ephesus, Pergamus, Thyatira, Miletus, Hierapolis, Chio, Tralles, Clazomene, &c. Names of the most distinguished cities of Greece

are also to be found in alliance with Smyrna, as Athens and Lacedæmon. The Ephesians, jealous of the honour of Smyrna, claimed the precedency in a medal bearing the inscription, ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ . ΠΡΩΤΩΝ . ΑΣΙΑΣ. Instantly the Smyrneans struck another with ΣΜΥΡΝΑ . ΠΡΩΤΗ . ΑΣΙΑΣ . ΚΑΛΛΕΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΜΕΓΕΘΕΙ.

Many other medals, says Tournefort, help us to know the rank which Smyrna held among the cities of Asia. The citizens boast, says Tacitus, to be the first in all Asia, who raised a temple to Rome, under the name of Rome *the Goddess*, in the very time while Carthage stood, and that there were powerful kings in Asia, who as yet knew nothing of the Roman valour. In the wars of Cæsar and Pompey the Smyrneans sided with Pompey, and assisted him with many vessels. After it had afforded refuge to Trebonius, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, who was slain by Dolabella, and part of the city destroyed, it enjoyed the protection of Augustus, who allowed them the title of *Neocore*.

When the eleven cities of Asia Minor contended for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius, his mother, and the senate, it was de-

creed to them, and that emperor constituted Smyrna a *Neocore*. Their gratitude to Hadrian, who had repaired the destruction of an earthquake, dedicated another temple to him, with annual games; and Smyrna was made *Neocore* again by Hadrian, as appears by the Oxford marbles; and by him she is also styled ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ . ΣΜΥΡΝΑ. It had the same honour of *Neocore* under Caracalla. Tournefort informs us that Smyrna was thus *Neocore* of the Cæsars, while Ephesus was only so of Diana;* and at that time the emperors were much more feared, and consequently more honoured than the goddesses; and the temples of emperors were more spacious and beautiful even than those of Ephesus and Pergamus.

When the city was destroyed by a dreadful earthquake in 177 after Christ, Marcus Aurelius restored it with much splendour and beauty. Democharès, a native of Smyrna, presided over this restoration, and his fellow citizens erected a statue to him with this inscription:

* Τὴν Ἐφεσιῶν πόλιν νεωκόρον ὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτεμιδος. In our translation simply rendered *worshipper*. Acts xix. 35.

Δαμόχαρι κλυτόμητι, δικασπόλε, σοὶ τόδε κῦδος
Ὄττιγε τὴν Σμὺρναν μετὰ λοίγια πήματα σεισμοῦ
Εσσυμένως πονέων, αὖθις πόλιν ἐξετέλεσσας.

In the earlier times, the cities of Asia were governed by their own laws, and by their own proper magistrates; they enjoyed at that period, what is best expressed by the original word, a real *Autonomia.* Under the Persians, they lost this precious privilege. Alexander the Great re-established them in their ancient state, and Pompey, after the successful termination of the Mithridatic war, restored to the cities of Asia their laws, and their magistrates, of which they had been deprived, either by the Seleucidæ, Antiochus or Mithridates.

The government of the city of Smyrna appears to have been democratical; the public authority was exercised in the name of the people by a public council. On the medals of most other cities occur the names Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ and Η ΒΟΥΛΗ, *the people and the council;* and though no such legend has hitherto been discovered on the medals of Smyrna, yet the want is abundantly supplied by inscriptions in which the people and the

council of Smyrna, Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, frequently are mentioned. Besides the common council of the city, Smyrna had a senate or council of elders, called ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ. Several other cities had a similar council, and at Sardis in particular, the ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ assembled in the palace of Crœsus, appropriated by the Sardians as a retreat for the citizens in old age. The ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ so frequent on the autonome coins of Smyrna, is perhaps another name for this *Gerousia*, or with greater probability, the collective name of the legislative assembly, composed of the elders, and the other members of council.

Most of the Greek colonies had a magistrate called the *Archon*, but it does not appear that such a dignity was ever exercised in Smyrna. The chief magistrate was called ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ, *Strategus*. He was not a military, but a civil officer, and the name, like that of archon, came from Greece into Ionia, and thence to many other cities of Asia. Some, says Vaillant, had *Archons* for magistrates, others prætors, or ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ; and some cities had both these officers. The name of these prætors occur on

almost all the imperial coins of Smyrna; and though their office was an annual one, the same individual was frequently re-elected, and occasionally even for the third time. There were also in some cities two prætors at the same time, differing in rank, as the first and the second.

Every city had a depôt, called in Smyrna the *Archeion*, wherein were deposited the laws, the archives, the solemn treaties, the decrees of the senate and people; and all the other public documents; a magistrate was intrusted with the charge of this *Archeion*, and he reduced into writing the public acts: his name among the Greek cities was ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ, literally, the scribe. It was a place of confidence, requiring the strictest probity in him who filled it. In many cities he was the chief magistrate, but in Smyrna it was an office of inferior rank. This officer is called the *town clerk* of Ephesus, in the 19th chapter of the Acts.

The quæstor or treasurer, called ΤΑΜΙΟΣ, was also a high dignity among the Smyrneans, styled treasurer of the sacred revenues; such was Bion.

The cities of Asia, in imitation of Athens,

educated their youth with much care; they instructed them in the sciences, and they taught them also the exercises of the *gymnasium*, the school of the *Athletes* destined to combat in the public games. As Smyrna had a gymnasium, she had also an officer called a *gymnasiarch*.

A great city must contain many temples, and a proportionate number of ministers for their service; it appears by the medals of Smyrna that there were two sorts of temples, one of the deities, the other of the emperors. The ministers of the second rank were simply styled ΙΕΡΕΙΣ, *priests*; as the priest of Apollo, the priest of Hadrian, &c. as appears by inscriptions; all these priests were subordinate to a pontiff or high priest, who had the superintendence over the whole of the city and its territory, and was named ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ, the high priest.

The sacred games which were celebrated in temples common to all the province of Asia in honour of the deities or the emperors, were under the direction of an *Asiarch*, whose office was different from that of the high priest. The etymology of the name would lead to the belief that the *Asiarch* was the governor-in-chief of the

province of Asia, and perhaps in the earlier period of history he might have been so, but latterly he was only a public officer, invested with a dignity partly magisterial and in part sacerdotal, who presided over the games of a particular province. The Asiarchate was an honourable title, but as expensive as honourable. The province contributed towards the expenses of the public games, but the Asiarch unavoidably expended large sums to make the solemnities more imposing, as well as to render himself conspicuous in his temporary office; accordingly, the most opulent persons were chosen to fill it. Strabo says, that in his time, the Asiarchs were elected principally from the citizens of Tralles, then the most wealthy in Asia; by the Roman laws, a father of a family having five children alive, was excused from the office. The Asiarchate was an annual dignity, and the same individual might be elected several times; it has been always contended that the Asiarchate was filled by *one* person only, unlike the *Archons*, *Prætors*, &c. &c. of whom there were sometimes two, and even more; but this seems contradicted by the inscription.—[No. 1, of the Visit to the

Churches]—found between Smyrna and Sedikeuy, which has the name of Timon ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ.

We learn the manner in which the election took place from Aristides of Smyrna, who was elected, but afterwards exonerated from the office by the friendship of Marcus Aurelius. "They send," says he, "every year to the proconsul, the names of ten citizens who had the greatest number of votes for the office of Asiarch, and the proconsul having seen mine in the list, though he knew me only by reputation, and had heard that I had some property in Mysia, rejected all the rest, and conferred the magistracy upon me." Such were the Asiarchs who were assembled at Ephesus, at the feast of Diana, who dissuaded St. Paul from going to the theatre. Sometimes the dignities of high priest, and prætor, and Asiarch, were united in the same individual. When St. Polycarp was seized at Smyrna during the celebration of the public games, probably for bearing too faithful a testimony against them, the people tumultuously demanded of Philip the Asiarch, that he would let loose a lion to devour the Christian; Philip excused himself on the

ground that the spectacles of the amphitheatre were at an end. This Philip was of Tralles, and united the office of Asiarch and high priest.

Lastly, the city of Smyrna had priests or pontiffs of a distinguished rank called *Stephanephori*, because they wore a crown of laurel, and sometimes one of gold, in the public ceremonies. This dignity was annual and elective in several cities of Asia, as at Sardis, Magnesia on the Meander, Tarsus, &c. These Stephanephori, though anciently consecrated to the ministry of the gods, were also attached to the temples of the emperors. Dionysius of Halicarnassus compares the Stephanephori to the Roman priests called *Flamens*. Oeconomus supposes these Stephanephori exercised the supreme authority in Smyrna instead of Archons, and that they continued only till the time of the emperors; the first is not correct, and the latter is disproved by a medal of Severus Alexander, which has a Stephanephorus, called Diogenes. Perhaps it was with reference to this *high* dignity, that to the faithful member of the church of Smyrna was promised "a crown of life."

Under the Christian emperors Smyrna ranked

next to Constantinople, as well in consideration of her ancient celebrity as of the glory conferred on her by religion. The metropolis of Smyrna was placed by the emperor Leo the Sophist, among those metropolitan sees called Αυτοκεφαλια. It had six dioceses, as appears by the diataxis of the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus the elder. These were,

Phocæa	Anelium or Eleion
Magnesia	Archangel
Clazomene	Petra.

Thus far Smyrna flourished as the oracle had foretold; but to these happier days succeeded many of bitter misfortunes. In 1084 a Turkish pirate called Tzachas, dignified with the title of king by his desperate gang, fixed the seat of his petty empire in Smyrna. It comprised Clazomene, Phocæa, Chio, Samos, Mitylene, and other islands and places on the coast. The Turkish sultan, Solyman the First, had his throne in Nice. In 1097, John Ducas, brother-in-law of the ruling emperor, Alexis Comnenus, appointed geneneral-in-chief by land, in conjunction with the Admiral Caspax, retook Smyrna, under the stipulation that Tzachas and his partizans should be

put to death; and Caspas was appointed governor; Anna Comnena gives him the title of duke. Caspax was shortly after assassinated by a Turk, and to revenge the death of their chief, the sailors from the fleet murdered ten thousand Smyrneans. John Ducas left Yalea, or Yales, as governor of Smyrna in his stead. Tzachas returning, regained possession of the city; but was again forced to fly by Dalassenus, the admiral of the emperor Alexis; the emperor also accused him as a self-constituted sovereign to his father-in-law the sultan Keletzli Azlan; at which the sultan, much irritated, joined the army of Alexis, and marched against Tzachas; besieged him in Abydos, and inviting him to a banquet, intoxicated and dispatched him.

The whole of lesser Asia had been desolated by the wars, when the emperor Alexis sent Philokales in 1106 to rebuild the ruined cities; among many others so restored, was Adramyttium, of which not the smallest vestige had remained. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Smyrna lay in ruins, except the acropolis, which served as a fortress. That friend of the Muses, the emperor John Ducas Vatatzes, who reigned in 1222,

rebuilt and beautified it. Theodosius, the consul, is said to have presided over this restoration of Smyrna; and the Smyrneans erected a marble statue to him, with this inscription,

Τον μεγαν εν βουλαις Θεοδοσιον Ασιδος αρχον
Εικονι μαρμαρεη στησαμεν Ανθυπατον.

The emperors of Constantinople had then their seat of empire at Nice, for the Latins held Constantinople. Vatatzes, struck by apoplexy, came down to Smyrna to offer up his prayers for recovery, in the principal church, now converted into the mosque called the Castana Bazaar; he regained his health by a long residence at Bounarbashi, the ancient *Periclysta*, and going from thence, in 1255, he died at the gardens of Nymphæa, where he had a palace; his body was interred in the monastery of Sosandra, called by the Turks Kouzina, not far from Magnesia.

In the year 1313, *Aidin*, another desolating general of the first Ottoman sultan, Osman, wresting Lydia from the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus, placed his blood-stained standards almost upon the walls of Smyrna; his son and successor, Amour or Omar, was satrap or sultan of

Smyrna in 1332. Twelve years after, when he was absent with his fleet, laying waste the coasts of the Propontis, the knights of Rhodes, arriving with a few ships of war, burnt many vessels in the port, and gained possession of a fortress near the sea side, which is called the Fort of St. Peter. Omar arrived in time to save the town, but could not dislodge the enemy from the fort, nor prevent their making a settlement, which was at the mouth of the port, at a distance from the Turkish town. In the following year, the pope sent thither a nominal patriarch of Constantinople, escorted by twelve gallies; but while the Latins were celebrating mass in the then metropolitan church, which is the present *Issar* mosque near the fort, Omar rushing in, attacked and killed a great number, and among others, the patriarch himself in his robes of office. He compelled the rest to shut themselves up in the fort, and afterwards fell himself before it, pierced with an arrow.

In Vertot's history of the knights, this story is differently related. "The new general of the order John de Biandra, prior of Lombardy, formed a design worthy of his valour.

The port of Smyrna, a considerable city of Anatolia, served often for a retreat to the Turkish corsairs, who were masters of the city. Biandra having, besides the soldiers on board his fleet, taken in at Rhodes a great number of troops commanded by valiant knights, formed the siege of the place, and took it by storm. Some historians pretend that he only took the castle, which was seated by the sea side, and commanded the entrance of the port. All the soldiers in the fort, both Turks and Arabians, were cut to pieces. The grand master having advice of it, and knowing the importance of that fortress, sent fresh troops immediately thither, with arms and provisions to reinforce the garrison.

There are still to be seen upon the gates of the castle, though fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of this conquest, the whole honour of which they ascribed to the pope, as head of the league, though the knights of Rhodes had the greatest share in it. A Turk called Morbassan, (probably for Omar basha,) who commanded in the higher town and over all the country, attempted a year after to drive the Christians out of the

place. He laid siege to it, but after three months spent in smart attacks and a gallant defence, he made a feint of abandoning his enterprise, or at least of turning the siege into a blockade. The greater part of his troops drew off, and only a small number was left in his camp. The Christians having notice of his retreat made a furious sally, easily forced the entrenchments which were ill defended, broke into the camp, and put to the sword or took prisoners all that made resistance, or did not save themselves by a speedy flight. They celebrated this victory upon the same spot on which they obtained it, with the sound of military instruments, with feastings, and a joy which was so much the more dangerous as the enemy was not far off. Morbassan, whom they fancied "a great way up in the country, but who only lay concealed with his troops behind the neighbouring mountains, having notice of it by certain signals, marched down, and finding the Christians in disorder, made a cruel slaughter of them in his turn. The greatest loss fell upon the knights of Rhodes: and the pope's legate, who was come into the camp to partake in the public joy, lost there his life, as well as

most of the officers and ecclesiastics of his household. The knights who escaped the fury of the barbarians got back to the fort, and held it out by help of a new reinforcement, against all the efforts of the Turks and other infidels. The dismal news of this disgrace, passing into Europe, the pope to repair it published a crusade with numerous indulgences annexed to it."

Smyrna continued in this manner under a twofold government fifty-seven years. The sultan, Amurat the First, attacked the fort, and his son, Bajazet, besieged it seven years, but they were unable to dispossess the Latins. In the year 1402, the celebrated Tamerlane when devastating lesser Asia, learned that the Christians and Mahometans had each a stronghold at Smyrna, and were always at war: he required the former to change their religion; but the governor soliciting aid from the European princes, Tamerlane marched in person to subdue it, and attacked it by land and sea. That he might destroy the famous port which shut up, he ordered every soldier to throw a stone into the mouth, which was soon filled up, as well as the station of the shipping called in the present day,

Ali Pasha Berani. Gaining possession of the town in fourteen days, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, he burnt the houses, and destroyed many public edifices, and among others the Fort of St. Peter. The knights had escaped from this fort into their gallies previously, and fled. Tamerlane is reported to have beheaded a thousand of the prisoners, and to have built, as a monument of his victory, a wall or tower composed of stones and their heads intermixed.

A very minute and curious account of this siege, written by a Persian, called Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yedz, a cotemporary author, is thus translated in Vertot's History of the Knights.

"Timur was informed, that there was upon the sea coast, a place exceeding strong, built of hewn stone, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and on that of the land by a deep ditch, all built with lime, and cemented from the top to the bottom; that there was a great number of Europeans within it; that it was called Ismir or Smyrna; that the Greeks looked upon it as an holy place; and persons resorted thither from remote countries in pilgrimage with great devo-

tion, who there offered up their vows, and brought their alms; that there was near it, about the distance of a horse's course, another fortress upon the ridge of a mountain, called also Ismir, but possessed by Musselmen, who were continually at war with those of the other place, on account of their difference in religion; and as the Smyrna of the Christians was surrounded by the sea on three sides, they were relieved from Europe by sea, and had provisions, clothes, arms, and all other necessaries brought them that way. And as this place was seated in the farthest part of the frontiers of Asia, and the country of the Mussulmen, the Greeks carried on from thence a cruel war, and defended the place, as being of the utmost consequence to them; that it had never been taken by any Musselman Prince, nor ever paid any tribute to any body; that Amurath, the father of Bajazet, had taken the field several times at the head of a mighty army without being able to carry his point, and that Bajazet himself had kept it besieged for seven years together, without making any progress in it; that this place infested the Musselmen exceed-

ingly, and nothing was to be seen but slaughter and streams of blood, flowing continually into the sea like torrents."

"When Timur was informed of the state of Smyrna, his zeal for religion persuaded him that it was his duty to deliver the Mussulmen from trouble, by entirely destroying their enemies. He detached thither the Mirza Pirmehemet Gmarchoitz, the emir Check Nouredden, and others, with orders, first to summon them by an ambassador to embrace the Mussulman religion, (for such is Mahomet's order,) that if they should be happy enough to do so, his pleasure was that they should be kindly treated, and that they should give him notice of it, in order that he might bestow his favours upon them; that if their obstinacy should soften, and whilst they desired to continue Christians, would submit to pay tribute, they should regulate the sum with them and receive it; but if, unhappily for them, they should dare to stand upon their defence, they should put them all to the sword.

"The mirza and the emirs obeyed immediately, and coming before Smyrna, sent an ambassador to invite the inhabitants to turn Mussulmen,

using threats as well as promises for that purpose; but as they were predestinated to destruction, both were useless; and Mahmouy, the governor of the place, had sent to demand succour of all the princes of Europe, so that he had got together a great number of the bravest Christian captains, or rather a company of mad devils, who erected magazines there, and supplied it with ammunition and provisions. Our generals gave advice thereof to the court, and Timur, upon the news, resolved to go thither in person. He left his baggage at the foot of the mountain of Tire; and though it was winter, and the weather exceeding rainy, he would needs mount on horseback, that the merit of this religious war might be ascribed to him, and march on that side. He arrived there on Saturday, the 6th of Jumazyulevel, anno 805, at the head of his army, and sent orders to the Mirza Mehemet Sultan, who was in winter quarters at Magniscah, to advance and post himself before Smyrna. The like orders were sent to Merasmiren Chuh and Bouleen, as also to the emir Gehan-chah, and others. At Timur's arrival before the place, they beat all their drums and kettle-drums, and the whole

up a great shout. The place was immediately attacked on the land side, and every general carried on the sap over against his post, and prepared engines and battering-rams for the assault. They shot arrows, and threw pots of wildfire upon the gates of the castle; the emir Chamelec caused likewise great scaffolds with three feet to be erected in the middle of the water near each other, over which they threw great planks, and from the two sides of the castle to the place where the feet of the scaffolding touched upon the land, they made a plain even way, and so firm, that the soldiers might boldly stand and walk on them, without fearing their breaking down, and fight there as well as if they had been upon land. This being finished, the Mussulmen took their bucklers, and got up on the scaffolds, assaulting the city from thence; and the way being thus shut up on the side of the sea, it was impossible for any body whatever to succour the besieged.

"In the mean time, the Mirzas Mehemet Sultan, and Miranchah, arrived, having left their baggage at Magniscah under the care of the emir Chamseddin Abbas: this reinforcement was of

great service in forwarding the siege, fo[illegible] gave orders for the general assault. The[illegible] of Loumans and colonels of Hézares, with th[illegible] troops, advanced to it, each on the side where he was posted, and the assault lasted from morning till evening, and from the evening till morning, the brave men on both sides performing actions of wonderful vigour. If the attack was obstinate and resolute, the defence was equal to it, and nobody had time to rest a moment; the engines and battering rams beat down the walls and towers, and the besieged, still undaunted, were continually throwing pots of naphtha, wildfire, and showers of stones and arrows, from engines as well as bows, without the least intermission.

"All this while the rain was so excessive, that it looked as if the universe was going to be overwhelmed with a second deluge; yet notwithstanding this prodigious storm, the indefatigable Timur was every moment giving orders to his generals, and encouraging his soldiers in person. After the miners had finished their works, and propped up the bastions and courtines with stones, they filled the mines with fascines and faggots dipped in naphtha, and set fire to them; upon

which the walls were thrown down at once, and several of the besieged fell from the top of them and were killed. The Mussulmen forced them sword in hand to quit the breaches that they defended, and made their way into Smyrna, crying out 'Victory!' and praising God, to whom they offered the heads of all their enemies by way of thanksgiving for their success. Very few of those escaped who had thrown themselves into the sea, and were swimming to the ships that lay off, great numbers of them being drowned in the attempt. After they had put the people of Smyrna to the sword, they demolished the buildings both of the town and castle, and threw the materials, the bricks, arms, and goods, into the sea. Some great ships, called caracas, came from certain parts of Europe: these had two masts at least, and were well provided with soldiers and arms on board to succour those of Smyrna. When they drew near the port, and saw no marks either of the town or castle, they were startled, and stopped their course. Timur gave orders to throw the heads of some of the Christians on board these ships, and the throwers of wildfire having executed his orders, several heads fell

into the very ships. The seamen knowing the heads of their comrades, tacked about and returned in a fright, altogether disappointed of their expectation."

On the departure of Tamerlane, the former governor, Cineis, or Tzineit, as Ducas calls him, son of Karasoubasi, governor of Ephesus, continued in possession of Smyrna. Cineis, ambitious beyond his means, aspired to be a sovereign. The sultan Mohammed I. marched against him in 1419, and took from him Nymphæum, Cyme, and a strong castle built on the site of the ancient Temnus, or Neontichos, now called Menimen, (Chandler says it was fort Archangel, called by the Turks Kaghiasik, situated in the field of Menimen,) and finally, Smyrna itself. He was assisted by the governors of the islands, who hated Cineis, by the princes of Phocea, of Higher Phrygia, Caria, Lesbos, Scio, and even by the grand master of Rhodes, who was then rebuilding fort St. Peter, which Tamerlane had destroyed. The sultan threw down all the fortresses of Smyrna, but spared the houses and inhabitants, and even permitted Cineis to resume the government of the city. Fort St.

Peter was ordered by the sultan to be again ruined, on a complaint that it sheltered the Ionian slaves who escaped from their owners; and to requite the grand-master, permitted him to erect a fort on the borders of Lycia and Caria. In 1421, the Sultan Amurath II. deposed Cineis, and appointed another governor. By this sultan, it is said, Smyrna was privileged to coin money with the sultan's name; the same favour was afterwards granted to Egypt and Adrianople. The knights of Rhodes, assisted by the Venetians, at the end of the same century, retook the city, and forced the Turks to evacuate it with great loss. Another account states, that it was Cardinal Caraffa, who, assisted by the Venetians, took and pillaged Smyrna in 1472, and carried an immense booty in triumph to Rome. The Turks of Smyrna rebuilt again the fort of St. Peter, which lay in ruins, and the same is preserved to the present day. The other marine castle, which lies at the entrance of the bay of Smyrna, near the shoals called the Myrmices, and opposite the æstuary of the river Hermus, called in Turkish Gedis-chay, was erected as an outwork of Smyrna by the Turks in 1656, after the

destruction of the Turkish fleet in the Hellespont by the Venetians. This fort is named in Turkish Sangac Bournon, because the Turkish flag is commonly flying over it. After the reign of Sultan Amurath, the conquering Turk gained complete possession of the Greek empire, peace was restored, and commerce revived and again settled at Smyrna.

In 1694, during the reign of Sultan Achmet II., the Venetians having taken Chio, came with a large naval force before Smyrna, and prepared to attack it with almost a certainty of success; but the consuls of the other European states, the French, the English, and the Dutch, had an immediate interview with the Venetian admiral, and intreated him to reflect that such an attack would infuriate the Turks of Smyrna against the European residents, and occasion not only the destruction of their commerce, but the loss of their lives. The admiral, fearing the displeasure of the European sovereigns, departed without attempting any thing, and left Smyrna to the enjoyment of that repose which, till the commencement of the Greek revolution, has been undisturbed, with the exception only of

some disturbances from without not worth mentioning, and the futile attempts of the rebel Sari (or Soley) Bey Oglou in 1736.

"The reader of the foregoing details will not be surprised if few traces of the ancient city yet remain. From a survey of the castle, which is extensive, inclosing seven acres, we collect that after being re-edified by John Ducas Vatatzes, its condition, though less ruinous than before, was far more mean and ignoble. The old wall, of which many remnants may be discovered, is of a solid massive construction worthy of Alexander and his captains; all the repairs are mere patch-work." These remnants do not, however, appear entitled to the high antiquity Dr. Chandler assigns to them, and are probably many ages posterior to Alexander and his captains; the contrast between these and the repairs of later ages is notwithstanding very striking, and justifies the elegant apostrophe of Œconomos:—

Πόσον σέβας ἐμπνέει εἰς τὸν θεωρὸν ἡ εἰς τὰ μεγαλοπρεπῆ ταῦτα λείψανα ἐμβασιλεύουσα σοβαρὰ Ἑλληνικὴ ἀρχαιότης! καὶ πόσον μικρὰ φαίνονται τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποικοδομημένα μέρη του τείχους!

In its present state the castle consists of an embattled wall, with many towers, square and

angular. Within is a deserted mosque, have been the ancient church of the Holy Apostles, and rubbish of buildings, many small-arched vaults, and a large reservoir for water, the roof arched, and supported by piers. In the remotest periods, says Mr. Dallaway, this insulated hill appears to have been connected with the city in all its changes, and to have been the acropolis; but he is mistaken in supposing this to have been the castle which was put into a complete state of defence, if not wholly rebuilt by the knights of Rhodes, after having been destroyed by Tamerlane: it was fort St. Peter, not this castle, which the knights defended so gallantly—they never had possession of the acropolis. At the north entrance was a handsome door-case of white marble, and over it an arch formed of three immense pieces of the same material, inscribed with an elegant and poetical description of the extreme misery from which the emperor beforementioned had raised the city; and concluding with an address to the omnipotent Ruler of heaven and earth, that he would grant him and his queen, whose beauty it celebrates, a reign of many years. This inscription was copied with much difficulty by the Rev. Mr. Burdett, chap-

lain to the Levant Company, and communicated by him to Pococke. It is published by Chandler in the "Inscriptiones Antiquæ." Mr. Burdett took the trouble of bringing long ladders from the Frank quarter, and it was even then a work of much difficulty; "vix literas vidi sic inter se mutuo nexas et quasi in unum coalescentes." If the letters were barbarous, the composition is in a good style, worthy of a better age, and almost of Homer and Theocritus. On each side of this arch is an eagle rudely cut. The whole is now prostrate, thrown down a few weeks since * by the pasha to supply materials for the new barracks!

The river Hermus may be seen from this eminence, and it commands a view of the rich plain of Hadjilar, described justly as "the valley of gardens," and the whole town of Smyrna, so compact as to show itself like a single roof, the gulf quite to the sea, and the surrounding spiral mountains. From the south side it overlooks a valley abounding in marshy shrubs, concealing the Meles for a considerable distance; and far-

* The above was written in 1827; the writer would have saved this interesting monument, and placed it in the public rooms, (Casino,) but the sum demanded was enormous; the letters were chopped off, and it is now built into the barrack walls.

ther on may be discovered its scanty stream and rocky bed—it is the rivulet sacred to Homer. Near the west gate at the right is a colossal head, concerning which most travellers have offered a conjecture. It has been called the Amazon Smyrna, the Empress Helena, and Apollo.

Going down from the western gate of the castle toward the sea, at some distance is the ground-plat of the stadium, stripped of its marble seats and decorations. One side was on the slope of the mountain; the opposite, or that next to the town, was raised on a vaulted substruction which remains. It appears as a long dale, semi-circular, or rounded at the top. It was five hundred and forty feet long, and the diameter of the circular end two hundred and eighty-eight feet, one hundred and twenty of which were surrounded by the arena, and the remainder by the subsellia. This has been supposed (but erroneously) to be the site of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the first bishop of Smyrna, who, according to legendary tradition, was here torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Irenæus, however, tells a different story; for he says, he was first exposed to the flames, and

afterwards thrust through with a sword. These contradictory accounts may be reconciled perhaps by recollecting that the Asiarch Philip refusing to let loose any more beasts, on the plea that the exhibitions of the amphitheatre were at an end, the flames were resorted to; and such appears to have been the fury of the populace against the Christian martyr, that wood was brought from the baths and the town below. This was in the year 177, a year as awfully remarkable from the overthrow of the city by an earthquake. The festival of St. Polycarp is kept by the Greek church on the 23rd of February, and formerly there was a procession to his tomb, the supposed site of which is at a short distance only from the scene of his martyrdom. Chandler treats this supposed tomb as an idle tale, but its contiguity to the ruins of the ancient church comes in aid of the tradition; nor is there any just reason for believing that in any period since that event, Smyrna was for any long time without some Christians competent and disposed to perpetuate the tradition. *

* St. Polycarp's Tomb.—Where the city anciently stood, is a *petite cabane*, like a hermitage, where a dervish lodges, and

Descending from the northern gateway of the castle, you come to the vestiges of a theatre in the side of the hill, fronting the north. This noble building, said to be the largest in Asia, was entirely destroyed by the Turks under the direction of the famous Vizier Achmet, son of Kupalu, in the year 1675, who removed the stones to build the Vizier Khan, the Besestein, &c. As neither the stadium nor theatre are mentioned by Strabo, they have been supposed to have been erected after he wrote ; but the bushel of medals

in this little *chambrette* is the coffin of St. Polycarp, (not his body.) It is covered with brown cloth, and over it is placed the episcopal mitre of a curious form, with *Alla* written in Arabic on the front of it. The Turks have much reverence for this tomb, because they say Polycarp was an evangelist of God, and friend of their prophet Mahomet."—*Voyage du Père Pacifique*, 1622.

" The Christians which dwell there, (at Smyrna,) receive much consolation from the marks of sanctity which are around their city. There we see the grotto in which St. John Evangelist dwelt some time. There is also the staff of St. Polycarp, planted by him when he suffered martyrdom, which took root and became a *tree!*"—*Voyage du Sieur des Hayes*, 1648.

" There is a chapel a little higher up in the same mountain, all in ruins ; and nothing is to be seen there but a *tombeau* like those of Turkish cheiks, which is reputed to be St. Polycarp's."—*Voyage de Monconys*, 1648.

of the emperor Gallienus, found in one of the walls, would only prove that he had repaired it when ruinous. It requires a very careful examination even to determine the site at present, for not only are all the subsellia removed, but the rock having been quarried for building materials, the original curvature is entirely destroyed. In a small inclosure, however, close to a Turkish cottage, is a small but noble relic of this once magnificent structure; some masses of wall and one of the vaulted entrances still entire, the stupendous stones and admirable masonry of which are really worthy of Alexander and his captains, and probably built by them. These remains are on the north-west; at the opposite end a few small fragments mark its termination in that direction; it is extremely difficult, from the nature of the ground on a descent, and for the most part filled with Turkish houses, to form an accurate idea of the internal diameter, but it was probably between two hundred and fifty and three hundred feet.* It was clearly in this theatre, and not in the stadium, that Polycarp was put to death.

"* Un peu plus bas dans le penchant de la montagne est un Amphithéatre dont l'on voit bien distinctement la figure, qui estoit un demi rond qui a par le plus haut 314 pas de tour; il

Below the theatre is part of a slight [illegible] which, with a fosse round the hill, was b[illegible] about the year 1736, to protect the town [illegible] the famous rebel Soley Bey Oglou.

The port, which is shut up, reached once to the foot of the castle hill, but is now dry, says Chandler, except after heavy rains, when it receives water from the slope. It formed in his time a spacious recess within the present town, and had houses along the margin. In Tournefort's view and plan of Smyrna, this port is distinctly marked immediately adjoining on the south side to the old castle. The whole of the site has been subsequently built upon. Tamerlane, by depriving the sea of its free ingress, as we have observed before, first contributed to this change. It is mentioned as the galley port at the beginning of the last century.

"A small mean castle," says Chandler, "still in use on the north side of the entrance, is sup-

y avoit 24 rangs de degrez, mais les 12 d'en haut etoient un peu plus separés des douze d'en bas que de la largeur des marches qui ont un pied et 4 pouces de hauteur, et 2 pieds 3 pouces d'epaisseur ou profondeur," &c.

It was in *this* amphitheatre, says Monconys, that St. Polycarp was murdered."—*Voyage de Monconys.*

posed to occupy the site of fort St. Peter. Had he examined it with more attention, he would have discovered not only that it stands on the site of fort St. Peter, but that it is actually that celebrated fortress; and when history speaks of its having been totally destroyed at different periods, this must be an exaggeration: the strongest evidence of the identity of this building, or at least a part of it, still remains. Vertot, in his History of the knights of Malta, says, 'There are still to be seen upon the gates of the castle, though fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of the original conquest of this fort from the Turks; the whole honour of which they ascribed to the Pope as head of the league, though the knights of Rhodes had the greatest share in it." *These arms, on two tablets of white marble, still remain over the gate.*

The city wall, which, descending from the castle, included the stadium on the one hand, and the theatre on the other, has been long since demolished, and even its ruins removed. The stones were employed in the erection of the public buildings by the Vizier Achmet in 1675.

A small remnant of it on the hill above the stadium is of that kind of ancient masonry called Pseudisodomum, hard cement and rubble, faced with large stones, and having externally the same appearance as the Isodomum, which was wholly of stone or marble, the pieces regularly disposed. The side next the theatre may be traced, or rather could be traced, in Chandler's time, a considerable way along the brow from its junction with the north-east angle of the castle. It is then lost; but in the Armenian quarter, by *the three corners*, or near the Frank street, were remains of a thick and massy wall which had a large V, or something resembling it, cut on each stone. Going, in 1675, from the sea along by it, you came to foundations of a great and solid fabric, probably the gymnasium; not far off, according to Œconomus, from the more modern philological gymnasium, over which he presided with so much credit to himself and advantage to the students. Above the principal Armenian street, (in which is the large khan for printing cottons,) ascending the hill towards the castle, still remain considerable portions of a wall resembling that which stood near the three cor-

ners, and having the same figure on many of the massy stones.

The bed of the river Meles behind the castle is crossed by a lofty aqueduct, which, when Chandler saw it, had been recently repaired, and supplied the fountains in Smyrna. This was built by the same Vizier Achmet in 1674, and the advantages of it are thus described by Rycaut: "He erected a stately aqueduct, and joined so many streams of water into one current, that not only the new buildings, (the Vizier Khan, the Bezestein, &c.) were supplied therewith, but also seventy-three new fountains were added to the old, besides ten old ones which were dug and again repaired; so that whereas some houses were forced to fetch their water from far, now every family is well accommodated, and every street as well supplied therewith, as most cities are which are seated in the great continent of Asia." This aqueduct has seven arches above, and two below; is two hundred feet across, and sixty feet high.

Above this aqueduct is another more extensive and ancient, which has fourteen arches, some circular, some elliptical; the latter may be

Turkish additions; this is now used only to turn a corn-mill above it against the hill. Its height is seventy feet, and the length three hundred and fifty. By this aqueduct are several petrifactions, and one of which, an aged tree, was the mould; —the wood has perished, but the large hollow trunk which incrusted it is standing. This spot, and the adjacent scenery form the *Megalos Paradeisos*, and is the much frequented resort of Turkish females. The grotto of Homer was supposed by Chandler to be near this place, but without any foundation.

In going from Smyrna to Boujah, by both the upper and the lower road, you pass through an opening in an old wall, supposed by Chandler to be the wall of the Pomærium, which encompassed the city at a distance. The facings are gone, and masses only of hard cement are left. The opening by the lower or plain road had once a gate, perfect within the recollection of many persons still living. The wall may be traced to a craggy rock rising precipitously above the Meles; but it is evident this wall could never have been intended for defence; the arches would at once have opposed such an opinion, even if the pipes

of an aqueduct did not clearly announce its original destination; as some part of the wall nearer the river is of a later construction, perhaps what was originally built simply as a conveyance for water, was subsequently repaired for a wall.

The ancient sepulchres were in the Pomærium, without the city. One, which has been absurdly supposed a temple of Janus, remained in 1675 in the way to Eshikleer, or beyond the river Meles, and on the left of the road leading to Magnesia. It was then among olive-trees in a field. The inscriptions of several have been preserved and published. The supposed temple of Janus is described by Spon as a small portico built of large stones without cement, and having two entrances to the north and to the south. Dr. Chishull thought it was the temple of Æsculapius.

Near this, at the distance of "some paces" only, according to Tournefort, is the spot called by Europeans the baths of Diana. It is on the road to Bournabat, and has a plentiful source of warm water. Some arches and foundations of buildings have been discovered near it, the magnificent fragments, says Tournefort, of a great

marble edifice. Many columns of white marble have been seen by those who have had the curiosity to bring a boat up the river which issues from the bath: and some pillars of red and white marble were lately standing among the high reeds on the north side of it, evidently belonging to an ancient edifice; it was from hence, acing to common report, that the pillar was brought, which is at present in the mosque at Bournabat, having this inscription:

ΥΜΝΩ ΘΕΟΝ
ΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΜΟΥ
ΕΚ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΙΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΥ
ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΟΥ

It has been before observed, that there is considerable difference of opinion about the river Meles; the greater part so naming the river which passes under the aqueducts and castle, on the authority of Strabo; while others, and among them the respectable names of Mons. Fauvel and Mr. Cousinery, taking it for the river of Bourna-

bat, and alleging in proof the grottoes at its source. I should be disposed to incline to the opinion of Chandler and others, supported by the positive assertion of Strabo; at the same time, I think it very probable, if not certain, that *ancient* Smyrna lay on the northern side of Bournabat Scale, and the remains at the corner of the bay, and on the mountain slope beneath what is called the tomb of Tantalus, in fact, all which is now named Hadji Mouza, are vestiges of the ancient Æolian city.

Few of the Ionian cities have furnished more relics of antiquity, or of greater merit, than Smyrna; but the convenience of transporting them, and the number of investigators, have exhausted the mine; it is therefore not at all wonderful, that "of the stoas and temples, the very ruins are vanished;" and it is now extremely difficult to determine the sites of any of the ancient buildings, with the exception of the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acræus which was within the acropolis.

1. Of the other temples, the position of that of Cybele, called also the Metroum, may be inferred from the description of Strabo, who says that the

part of the city which was built on the plain stood προς τω Μετρωω. This may either mean *near to*, or *over against*. If the latter, perhaps it was the temple of which Mr. Fauvel found the vestiges below the tomb of Tantalus:—or the elevated spot beneath in the corner of the bay, shaded by olive trees, part of the Hadji Mouza, and where medals have often been found. If the former, I can find no position more probable than the Kula of Sadek Effendi on the road to Bournabat.

2. Of Diana.—This temple and its position as described by Quintus Calaber, have been spoken of in the first volume. Van Egmont expressly says that the baths of Diana were so called from a temple which stood near it; this at least proves that the "Baths of Diana" were so called before the time of that traveller, and the spot where the Mosaic pavement was found may have been the site of the temple; for I am still of opinion, that the baths of Diana and the pillars near it, may have been of later and Christian erection.

3. Of Apollo.—This temple is said to have been built at the extremity of the walls; if these were the walls of the territory, the remains near the hot baths, called the Baths of Agamemnon,

may be those of this temple; but if the walls of the city are intended, the foundation above the Jewish burial-ground, called those of the temple of Æsculapius, agree better; and if so, the head in the castle gate, called the head of the Amazon Smyrna, was probably the head of Apollo, and brought from this temple. The temple of Æsculapius was said, by Pausanius, to have been built in his time; that is, in the second century; but judging from a careful investigation of the few members that may yet be found scattered among the grave-stones, they were of much earlier date. I found fragments of a Doric architrave and other ornaments of the Doric order, sufficiently well preserved to determine the diameter and height of the columns, though certainly there were others of the Corinthian or Composite; and as these could not belong to the same building, there were probably two temples on or near the same site.

Pausanius calls it the temple of Apollo Spodius; so called from *spodas*, *ashes*; an altar being erected to him out of the ashes of the victims immolated. This was an *oracular* temple, and the oracle was given by *ominous sounds*, called κληδονες.

4. Of Æsculapius.—It has been before observed, that the gigantic foundations which are now excavating above the Jewish burial-ground, are generally believed to be those of this temple. I do not presume to put my opinion in competition with that of antiquaries, so much more competent to decide, as Mr. Fauvel, Mr. Cousinery, &c.: still I cannot reconcile this position with the description of Pausanius, that the temple of Æsculapius stood between a high mountain and an arm of the sea. It was Dr. Chishull's opinion that this temple stood near the baths of Diana, and certainly the many votive marbles that have been found in that direction, several of which are in the author's possession, give some plausibility. On the other hand, Mr. Dallaway said that in coming from Vourla to Smyrna, he heard a *temple* had been discovered within the memory of man, near the *hot* baths, and corresponding with the site of the temple of Æsculapius, as described by Pausanias.

Besides these, there were the temples of the Nemeses,—of Rome, — and of the Emperors Tiberius and Hadrian. The last, by an inscription preserved in the chapel of St. Polycarp, stood

probably on Mount Pagus, and may have been the temple mentioned by Mr. Dallaway, as discovered upon the middle space of Mount Pagus, the dimensions of which were fifty feet by twenty-seven within the walls.

Of the others, there are no traces, though one of them may have been that which Mr. Dallaway says was discovered in 1794, in sinking a well, which had columns of porphyry and marble, and a statue of Paris of exquisite workmanship.

MODERN SMYRNA.

We have already remarked, that though the temples and public edifices are no more, the opulence, the extent, and the population of Smyrna, are certainly much greater at present than at any period of her former history. It is to her commerce that she is indebted for her present proud pre-eminence over her sister churches; probably even for her existence at all.* The devastations committed in Asia Minor, and the changes effected by the rivers on the coast, have rendered Smyrna the only considerable mart by the sea-side, and, in consequence, the principal centre of the traffic of the country. Her rival, Ephe-

* Of course, this is to be understood as subordinate to the will of the great head of the church, which has permitted Smyrna to exist, while her sister churches are desolate, without inhabitant.

sus, no longer exists; when her ports were dried up, her commerce naturally ceased; the early navigators of Miletus extended its commerce to remote regions; the whole Euxine sea, the Propontis, Egypt, and other countries, were frequented by its ships, and settled by its colonies. It was styled "mighty by sea;" the fertile mother, which had poured forth her sons to every quarter, counting not fewer than seventy cities descended from her. Miletus is no more;—and the destruction of Aleppo, more recently, has rendered Smyrna the emporium of the Levant.

It is extremely difficult to calculate with any precision the population of a Turkish city; but the increase of the population of Smyrna, has evidently been very great within a hundred and fifty years, if we can depend on the information of the earlier travellers. In the voyage of Père Pacifique in 1662, he says there were as many Greeks and Jews as there were Turks.

In 1699, De la Mottraye, a traveller of strict veracity, and in general of uncommon accuracy, calculated the *total* population of Smyrna only at twenty-four thousand. Tournefort, in 1701, exceeds this estimation by three thousand, making

the entire population twenty-seven thousand. In 1740, according to Pococke, the population had increased to nearly one hundred thousand, an incredible supposition, especially as the total number of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, are only stated at two thousand above Tournefort's calculation. It is therefore most probable, that De la Mottraye and Tournefort were both misinformed as to the real amount of the Turkish population, and considerably underrated it. In 1788, the total population is calculated by Stuart at one hundred and thirty thousand. In 1795, by Mr. Dallaway, as exceeding a hundred thousand. By more recent travellers the population has been variously estimated from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Perhaps one hundred and thirty thousand, and between ten and fifteen thousand houses, may be tolerably correct.

In 1622, from the voyage of Père Pacifique, we learn that there were only four mosques, one or two Greek churches, and one synagogue. And the Catholics, says he, have only one very small church, "tenue par les pères Observatins Venetiens," and in consequence of a dispute be-

tween the French and Venetian consuls, the latter not being disposed to yield the precedence in his own chapel to the former, (the French consul,) therefore the French consul has taken into his house *un Cordelier Français*, who performs all the duties of a curé in the chapel of his (the French consul's) mansion, and confesses all belonging to the French nation.

In the present day there are above twenty mosques: the Greeks have three churches; the Armenians one; the Latins two; the Protestants two; that is, one belongs to the English, and a second to the Dutch nation; and the Jews, instead of one, have numerous synagogues.

Bishops of Smyrna.

1. Aristo I.
2. Stratæus.
3. Aristo II.
4. Bucolus
5. Polycarpus, Martyr.
6. Papyrius
7. Camerius
8. Thraseas
9. Eudæmon
10. Eutychius
11. Idduas
12. Œthericus, 448.
13. Photius.
14. Calloas.
15. Stephanus
16. ——
17. Theodorus Studita
18. Metrophanes.

19. Nicetas
20. Theodorus I.
21. Joannes
22. ——— 1166.
23. Georgius, 1220.
24. Calophorus
25. Isaacus
26. —Temp. Andronic. Imper.
27. Theodorus II.
28. ——— 1334
29. Gabriel, 1575, vel 1576
30. Ananias sedebat anno 1721.

The writer abstains from entering into a more detailed account of Smyrna in its present state, because, if it be the will of God that he should again resume the duties of his post, he hopes to publish a full account of Modern Smyrna, accompanied by a map of the city.

He cannot, however, conclude without briefly adverting to the extraordinary changes which have taken place within the comparatively short period of his own residence.

On his arrival in 1822, the furious excitement, with all its horrors, attendant on the commencement of the Greek revolution, was at its height. It was unsafe to walk even in the streets; and a visit to the old castle was an undertaking of such

danger, that many of the oldest Frank residents had never dreamt of venturing thither.

The remotest attempt at improvements of any kind, tending to ameliorate the condition of either Greek or Turk, was sure to be regarded in the same light as innovation, in the days of Daniel, upon the law of the Medes and Persians; and any proposal for the intellectual improvement of a rayah or Mùsselman, would have subjected the rash projector to the effects of infuriated fanaticism.

The wooden framed house, though gaudily painted without, was considered the indispensable protection against the desolating earthquake, which might occur once in a century, but against the fires of every day, stone was never thought of. The only legitimate mode by which, in the depth of winter, a party could be warmed, was to be seated round the *Tendour* table, inhaling the wholesome fumes of charcoal; and all the little and great comforts or necessaries of life, from a chair to a knife and fork, must be patiently waited for from Europe, at least six months. A stranger arriving, could only throw himself on the well-deserved character for hos-

pitality of the consuls and merchants, unless he chose to seek the accommodations of a Turkish khan; a printing press, much more a newspaper issuing from it, would have excited as much astonishment, if not persecution, as the necromancy of the notorious Dr. Faustus.

But we live in the days of the march of intellect, and it has advanced even into barbarian Turkey. The explorer of antiquities, or the Christian philosopher, may now turn about the stones of the old castle, or meditate for hours on the spot consecrated by the martyrdom of a Polycarp, without the borrowed character of a Hakim, though the illusion connected with such scenes is apt to be somewhat destroyed by finding himself surrounded by a party of spruce soldiers with tight clothes and foraging caps, instead of grave-bearded personages, with ample turbans and flowing togas.

The houses of wood have given place to palaces of stone erecting in all directions. Smart shops abound with not only the necessaries of housekeeping and house furnishing, but the comforts and luxuries flow in abundantly from London and Paris. The *Tendour* maintains its place

still, but as an ancient domestic, kept more from gratitude for past services; and English fireplaces, and English coals, are now well appreciated. Locandas upon locandas, hotels upon hotels, and excellent lodging houses, invite the traveller, instead of repelling his entrance into the land of barbarism.

In a word, the temples, the stoas, the porticoes of earlier days seem restoring. Not only a printing-press, but presses upon presses, and journals upon journals, French, Greek, Italian, and even English, have familiarised the inhabitants of Smyrna with the politics and literature of Europe. Even a few years ago, a writer could complain with truth, that the Greek youths of Smyrna, have no other means of acquiring knowledge, than what is furnished by very inferior day-schools, and by private instruction. We might almost have applied the same remark to other Christian communities. At present, there are not only several seminaries—one at least dignifies itself with the name of a college, for the education of the Frank youth of both sexes—but upon the Greeks, the stores of

education are showered down with an unhe of profusion.

Besides the classical establishment, now admirably conducted by Abraham of Cesarea, formerly by Œconomos, what must be the surprise of the stranger who enters the numerous *free* schools, in which hundreds, not to say *thousands* of Greek youth, of both sexes, are taught not only the common rudiments of, but even the politer branches of literature; and I must not withhold the meed of praise from him to whom much of this is due; my friend, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, has been the main promoter, I should say the introducer, of this "march of intellect" among the Greeks. And who will believe it? The *schoolmaster* is actually among the Turks themselves; the European schoolmaster! and he who hitherto, "unchanged unchangeable, hath *sat*" with his legs under him, writing on his knee, has at last admitted the innovation of sitting on forms, and writing at a bench.

Humanity rejoices at the establishment of a public dispensary, where multitudes of all nations and different forms of religious creeds are gra-

tuitously relieved. But religion rejoices more to see her numerous ministers, of all denominations and countries, zealously advancing her best interests. In 1822, and for years afterwards, the writer, and the chaplain of the Dutch factory, were the only Protestant ministers; at present, there are no less than three of the English episcopal church, one of whom, as successfully as zealously, labours in his mission to the Jews, in addition to the charge at present of the Protestant chapels; while another, both in Smyrna and in the country villages, is an active and useful missionary to the Greek and the Turk. I have already spoken of Mr. Brewer, who, in addition to his schools, performs the service of the American Independent church in the Dutch chapel in the afternoon; and since the writer left Smyrna, two if not more American ministers, previously established in Malta, have arrived in Smyrna.

Such are the extraordinary changes within only twelve years; and here I would willingly take my leave of the reader, if a deep sense of duty did not compel me most reluctantly to mention that this delightful picture has, or is too likely to

have, one obscuring shade. Western Europe seems to have sent to Smyrna an increased and increasing love for amusements as well as instruction.

Would to God that this was a thirst for the pure intellectual amusements, which love of science, not to speak of religion, is so capable of imparting! Would to God the reported increase of a passion for that soul destroying amusement, the gambling-table, was not too true! Would to God the reported intention of establishing a public theatre with all its dangerous fascinations, may be untrue!

If I may not venture to address the members of other religious communities, (and yet many whose friendship I value will allow me to do so,) yet impressed as I am with the awful responsibility of the relation in which I am placed towards the members of my own congregation, and still more impressed, if possible, with the strongest affection for every one of them, I should be wretched in my own mind, besides incurring criminality in the sight of God, if I did not raise my voice in the strongest expression of affectionate warning and entreaty, against both these

most dangerous, most destructive seductions. Oh! avoid both the gambling-table and the blandishments of a public stage. The one leads to destruction of character—to ruin of credit in a house of commerce—to crime,—and too often to self-destruction;—the other, from the unnatural excitement of the passions, and the fascinating dress in which the most immoral indulgences are presented to the eye, not only destroys all the quiet and innocent enjoyments of domestic life, by exciting a ceaseless longing for what is unreal; but loosening the earlier implanted principles of right and wrong, and destroying the moral feeling, leads almost as surely to the same consequences, or if not, to a total distaste of rational and intellectual enjoyments.

Oh, while our Smyrna is fast rising again into her pristine importance; while we may say her temples, her porticoes of learning, her gymnasiums, and libraries, her Æsclepiums for the cure of diseases, are restored again, let it not be said of the youth of Smyrna, to whose amiable and ingenuous disposition I bear cheerful testimony, that the epithets which at one period of her history unhappily designated

the citizens of Smyrna, may be justly applie again, Ιωνικη τρυφη and Σμυρναιων ηθη—"*Ionian dissoluteness,*" and "*Smyrna manners.*" Strive to excel in the healthy exercises of the Palæstra, the djerit, and the course—even again erect the *classic theatre* in the open air, but shun the gaming-table, and shun a licentious stage.

Neither the gaming-table nor the theatre will lead to the distinction of which the youth were emulous in ancient days. The crown of the Stephanephori—the crown of the Epheboi—the crown of the victor in the gymnasium, or the stadium,—of the poet in the theatre, would have withered on the brows of the gamester, or the supporter of the licentiousness of a modern drama.

But there is another crown, to which a devotedness to the faro table or the theatre can never lead; and what is there that can be put in competition for an instant with the chance of gaining, or the awful danger of being deprived of that crown!—Friends and fellow members of the church of Smyrna, of every age and rank, and sex, and religious community, O! let us not

be unmindful, ungratefully unmindful, of the high distinction promised to the faithful member of our church. "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," an amaranthyne, a never withering, never dying crown.

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At Oloubourlou, (Apollonia) referred to, Vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

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At Oloubourlou, (Apollonia.)

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΜΣ.

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